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Blood, Shame and Fear
Self-Presentation Strategies in Turkish Women's
Talk about their Health and Sexuality

Neslihan Kansu-Yetkiner

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There is no etymological, but a metaphorical connection between ‘thesis’ and Theseus, mythical hero of ancient Greece, who found his way through the Cretan Labyrinth by following a thread. Likewise, I found my way through a labyrinth of ideas by following a thread of thought during my Ph.D. research at University of Groningen. But although the title page of this thesis bears my name alone as Theseus who was able to find the end of the labyrinth, the writing process of this thesis is in fact the collective accomplishment of numerous brilliant, kind-hearted, hardworking people, many of whom must unfortunately remain anonymous.

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"All the world's a stage,
And all the men and women merely players"
From *As You Like It* (2/7, 139-143)

1 Prologue

1.1 Introduction

The primary aim of this dissertation is to investigate the language use of two groups of less-educated Turkish women in narrative/conversation situations among female friends on critical/taboo topics with special reference to cultural politeness norms, self-presentation styles, and linguistic strategies reflecting socio-psychological mechanisms. The main concern will be to show how sex talk of less-educated Turkish women reveal their agentive selves, and how their social roles as women in the society and as wives in the family are reflected in their linguistic practices by focusing on some systematic linguistic usages with the support of qualitative and quantitative analyses. With this purpose, cultural, societal and gender role of Turkish women and how these influence the way in which Turkish women perceive, experience and present their identities and give direction to speaker-oriented face management in a triple matrix of politeness/facework, self-presentation and gender. Schiffrin (1996:170) emphasizes the complexity of the situation within a larger frame that has a room for both psychological and socio-cultural points of view: "The form of our stories (their textual structure), the content of our stories (what we tell about), and our story-telling behavior (how we tell our stories) are all sensitive indices not just of our personal selves, but also our social and cultural identities". In other words, socio-historical constructions not only influence the way individuals define and act on their behaviors, but also organize and give meaning to sexual experience, through construction of sexual identities, definitions, regulations and ideologies. Persons are also considered to be the constructors of their historicity and knowledge in their lives assisted by the common discourses in their societies and cultures, together with their own life experiences.

A socialization perspective on gender can account for diversity within genders. For instance, differences in the gendered behaviors of upper class and working class women can be explained by systematically different socialization environments they may have experienced as children. In this respect, these implications are in contrast to the assumptions of essentialism, which states that all women and men are considered to be fundamentally alike due to biological reasons and therefore a change in pattern is impossible. From a socialization perspective, "gender thus is viewed as operating at the level of individual personality but in the

service of more general social control” (Howard and Hollander, 1997:29). This notion of socialization is particularly important for thinking about the way that individuals develop a range of gendered identities which will be activated and used strategically in different communities with different norms rather than describing a single gendered identity which correlates with one’s biological sex.

Our cognitive preconceptions of ourselves shape who we present ourselves to be; our preconceptions of others shape how we behave towards them. We behave differently with different people in different situations by dressing in different styles, by having different manners and social roles. In other words, we present particular selves to others for particular reasons. Goffman (1955, 1959, 1971) maintained that like actors on a stage, people in social situations manipulate the impressions they give off to manipulate others’ perceptions of them. As Goffman argued, every social situation is an active juggling of identities. Presentations of self are thus manifestations of social structure in face-to-face interaction as they alert others to one’s social positions even before interaction begins. I am particularly interested in the ways in which individuals manage their presentations of their gendered selves in a social situation. In contrast to general belief that “masculine” and “feminine” behaviors are simply automatic expressions of males’ and females’ underlying natures, under the term of “doctrine of natural expression”, Goffman (1976:7) claims that “expression in the main is not instinctive but socially learned and socially patterned... And this is so even though individuals come to employ expressions in what is sensed to be a spontaneous and unselfconscious way, that is, uncalculated, unfaked, natural”. Gender displays, then, are not so much representations of an innate possession or set of standard behaviors which is imposed upon the individual by society, but indications of actors’ ability to perform the culturally prescribed roles believed appropriate for males and females.

When this theorization of gender and impression management is extended to the analysis of linguistic politeness, it results in a move away from previous theoretical models, (BL (1987) (henceforth BL); Leech (1983); among others) whereby hearer-oriented individual speech acts are considered to be inherently polite or impolite, towards a more complex model of the way that impression management and speaker-oriented politeness strategies operate with gendered norms. In other words, holding such a multidimensional perspective proposes a broad range of phenomena to be analyzed. Therefore, an attempt will be made to combine socio-psychological theory (Schütz 1996, 1997, 1998a and 1998b) and the linguistic theory of politeness (BL, 1987). It is widely acknowledged (e.g. by Kasper, 1990; Chen, 2001; Thomas, 1995; Meier, 1995) that theories of linguistic politeness in the traditions of BL (1987) and Leech (1983) have been primarily concerned with speakers’ efforts to save the face of others by minimizing or compensating the effects of face-threatening acts on their face. In this study, I focus on Goffman’s original conceptualization of face as concerning primarily self-presentation. From this perspective, linguistic politeness theory can be usefully combined with the socio-psychological theory of self-presentation as developed by Schütz (1998) who proposes a speaker-oriented taxonomy of self-presentation styles, distinguishing assertive, offensive, defensive, and protective self-presentation. In doing so, this study places well-known work of BL on politeness and facework into a broader framework concerned with the analysis of different

facework strategies on speaker's face account in spoken discourse. Hence, a platform is provided where the concept of face is elaborately studied beyond its familiar "western" milieu, and redefined in Turkish culture, where "East" and "West" connect and dissect both geographically and theoretically. This broader frame contributed to the understanding of self-presentation in and through talk in relation to social setting, context, cultural prescriptions and gender roles and cultural dimensions such as norms, values, orientations, traditions and collective experiences. In this way, I can portray a range of information on how displacement of self through linguistic choices and interactional style can locate a speaker in a triple matrix of cultural meanings, normative practices and social values that create social identity.

Based on Schütz's statement (1998a:628) that "cultural prescriptions and gender roles are among the most important factors in constraining the possible variety of self-presentation", this study hypothesizes that Turkish women's identity norms and their social roles in the family and in the community give direction to their language use and thus their self-presentation styles in service of meeting social expectations. Since women's sexuality is subordinated to men's sexuality in Turkish culture, and since it is considered to be a potential risk of shame both for the family and for women's virtue, women are inclined to employ a veil of silence around sexuality. If they speak on such topics, they tend to protect, maintain and enhance their social status, reputation and family honor by indirect, evasive and blurred expressions.

An empirical reason to initiate this study is that despite this large amount of interest, there has been little work on the question of how strategies of self-presentation are actually implemented in interaction and what their possible linguistic representations are. Indeed, many studies of self-presentation are experimental and/or depend on written data (Schmid and Fiedler, 1996; Schütz and Baumeister, 1999) and do not allow one to draw conclusions about how participants spontaneously go about the business of presenting themselves, and whether they employ systematic linguistic tools to maintain and protect their faces. In other words, there is a compelling necessity for examining the presentation of self and facework in spontaneous discourse.

In the following section, I will outline the framework of the study which is based on Goffman's backstage and frontstage distinction.

1.2 Framework

The study is framed by Goffman's (1959, 1967, 1981) dramaturgical approach which is usually associated with Shakespeare's "All the world's a stage and all the men and women merely players". He analyzes how people interact in our everyday life with the mode of presentation employed by the actors and its meaning in the broader social context. Building on the metaphor of the dramatic stage, Goffman made a distinction between front region and back region. Accordingly, people have a notion of self to the extent that they present some sort of role to others. Goffman considers the notion of social self to be located within the social act performed in the front stage. "Front stage" stands for a performance visible to an audience through which actors produce and present an image of

themselves by contributing with arguments, values, judgments and so on. In contrast to the front stage, back stage can be regarded as an invisible preparation-arena of a social situation, like a makeup room of a theatre where the actors put on makeup, study on their lines and mimic in front of the mirror, concentrate on their role. It is a domain where information that is hidden in the front stage can be released. If the actors have been socialized into ideas of femininity and/or masculinity, social values, custom and traditions, these ideas should become embedded in our sense of self, our back stage where norms and cultural values can be regarded as the parts of its constitutives. Thus, we define “back stage” as the initiation platform for the cultural, social and linguistic knowledge that guides symbolic interactions, and “front stage” as the communicative practices through which social identities are exhibited and managed. This argument can be closely related to Bourdieu’s notion of “habitus”, a set of dispositions that direct the individual to act in certain ways. Bourdieu defines “habitus” as:

“systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively ‘regulated’ and ‘regular’ without in any way being the product of obedience to rules, objectively adapted to their goals without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them and, being all this, collectively orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor” (1990:53).

In his “theory of practice” Bourdieu (1977) aims to emphasize individual actions, encompassing what individuals do, feel or believe. The concept of habitus challenges the concept of free will, in that within a certain habitus at any one time, choices are not limitless—here are limited dispositions, or readiness for action. A person is not an autonomous creature, for there exists flexibility in a habitus, but there is no complete free will. According to Bourdieu, there are no external forces that guide individuals’ behaviors; rather what may come to stage as such external forces is really an “inbuilt mechanism” based on “habitus”, the individually internalized social history. For Bourdieu (1995:59) agreement and possibility of social-coordination is the outcome of this individually inbuilt feature, an “immanent law, inscribed in bodies by identical histories” and consequently, “the precondition not only for the coordination of practices but also for the practices of coordination”. Based on this argument, Eelen (2001:222) underlines the distinction between collective and individual historicity stating, “On the one hand, collective history creates a ‘common’ world in which each individual is embedded. On the other hand, each individual also has a unique individual history, and experiences the ‘common’ world from this unique position”. The roots of this distinction can be traced in Bourdieu’s (1977:72) explanation about the “passage from the opus operatum to the modus operandi, from statistical regularity or algebraic structure to the principle of the production of this order” where “opus operatum” stands for an ‘end result’, social reality causing a proper modus operandi (model of production). These two concepts display close parallelism with Goffman’s notion of back stage

and front stage in the sense of construction of ‘self’ and the social performance in line with the community values. While *opus operatum* is the socialization process in which both individual and collective historicity are created, sustained, and reinforced in the back stage, *modus operandi* corresponds to ‘social practice’ (see Eelen, 2001) taking place in front stage. Hence, it not only guides individuals’ integration in the social world and their performance in the form of social practice, but also functions as a source of their individuality.

This thesis considers respondents’ behavior as a process beginning in the back stage where they realize and acquire their statuses, roles and utilize available tools on their cultural palette to create appropriate impressions on others in the front stage. Hence, back stage is considered as a prerequisite step, an arena, which harbors cognitive, cultural and gender account of an individual and give direction to the front stage performances. The understanding at macro-societal level in the back stage draws on theories of social construction and symbolic interaction in line with a socio-cultural and gender account of Turkish culture. This aims to provide the background against which culturally sanctioned appropriate and polite behavior can be understood and social factors that hinge on cultural aspects of language use can be analyzed. The detailed analysis of reflections of linguistic choices in the form of evasive/indirect interactional style, cautious self-description in line with assertive, protective and defensive self-presentation styles in the front stage is given from the window of a new broader frame based on impression management theory and politeness theory.

1.2.1 Back stage

Goffman (1959:114) says “a back region is here that the capacity of a performance to express something beyond itself may be painstakingly fabricated; it is here that illusions and impressions are openly constructed”. Back stage is then an internalization phase through which social norms and cultural values are digested through individual practices. Going back to Goffman’s metaphor of drama, we can say that it is preparation arena where actors continually rehearse for the best costume, role and mask fitting into proper situations in line with the norms of a specific society and values of a specific culture.

Thus, in the back stage the preparations for the front stage performance are conducted, actors can be equipped with social and cultural input for the performances in the front stage. This process is a sort of an assembly line of general mainstream values, norms and traditions. Therefore, it would be appropriate to give an overview of the sexual construction of the masculinity and femininity in Turkish culture, and its reflection on face concern and the language created in the back stage in order to comprehend the attitudes of Turkish women toward sexuality and their interactional style on this issue in the front stage. With this purpose, in this section, the socio-cultural factors influencing Turkish interactional style will be given with the framework of back stage arena. In the first part, the focus will be on the status of women in Turkish society to create a link between gendered social norms and discourse. In the second part, where the emphasis is on cultural orientation, the value placed on familial ties, relatedness and conformity will be discussed. The

third part of back stage input will be on impact on cultural factors and gender norms on language use and structure. The influence of backstage on discourse organization, linguistic choices, self-presentation strategies and interactional style will be outlined in the front stage section.

1.2.1.1 The Concept of Self

Cultural orientation plays a substantial role in cognition of self, relations with others and production of utterances. There is general agreement that personality and views of the self are influenced by both nature and nurture, whereby an important aspect of nurture is culture. Individualism and collectivism have been conceptualized as two powerful cultural models that represent broad differences among nations (Hofstede, 1980, 1991 and 2001; Kim, Triandis, Kağıtçıbaşı, Choi, and Yoon, 1994; Singelis, 1994; Triandis, 1994, 1995).

Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey (1988) make a distinction between collectivism, where group goals surpass individuals' goals, and individualism, where emphasis is given to individual goals. According to Triandis (1995:2) individualism can be defined as a "social pattern that consists of loosely linked individuals who view themselves as independent of collectives". In contrast, collectivism can be defined as a "social pattern consisting of closely linked individuals who see themselves as a part of one or more collectives". Accordingly, people in individualistic cultures describe themselves in terms of traits or occupational terms since they view themselves as distinct, autonomous, and self-reliant, whereas people in collective cultures tend to describe themselves in the context of relationships and interdependent terms.

Individualism places strong emphasis on consciousness, autonomy and emotional independence. Individuals give priority on personal goals over group goals. On the contrary, collectivism emphasizes "we" consciousness, collective identity, emotional dependence, group solidarity, sharing, duties and obligations, close and stable relationships. Personal needs, rights and contracts are the main guides of social behavior in individualist cultures, whereas norms, obligations, duties tend to direct personal behavior in collectivist cultures. As Scollon and Scollon (1995:147) put it in their analysis of ingroup-outgroup relationships: "in a collectivist society, many relationships are established from one's birth into a particular family in particular segment of society in a particular place". In addition, independent and interdependent self-construals have been emphasized as important factors in defining individual-level differences in cultural orientations (Markus and Kitayama, 1991). Different concepts such as idiocentrism and allocentrism (Triandis, 1995), and private and collective self (Greenwald and Pratkanis), individual loyalties and group loyalties (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1987) have also been defined in the discussion of country level individualism and collectivism.

Several studies draw attention to the fact that Turkish culture puts emphasis upon on relatedness and group consciousness. Many sayings and proverbs illustrate how collectivist values are evaluated and how conformity, solidarity and commonality are underlined as in the following examples: *Nerde birlik orda dirlik* (Where there is unity there is harmony), *Herkesin uyduğu imama sen de uy* (Follow the priest everyone follow), *Güne göre kürk giyinmek gerek* (One has to wear the

for appropriate to the day). In all these sayings, the emphasis is on attending to others, fitting in, and harmonious interdependence. This argument has gained strong empirical support at different dimensions of cross-cultural studies. In a cross-cultural study on sexual harassment, Sigal et al. (2005) compare attitudes toward a sexual harassment scenario across nine countries ranging from individualistic (like USA, Canada, Germany and The Netherlands) to collectivistic (like Ecuador, Pakistan, Philippines, Taiwan and Turkey). In contrast to participants from collectivist countries including Turkey, participants from individualist countries responded more negatively to academic sexual harassment than those from collectivist countries, which is consistent with the concept of individualism where individual concerns are put above the group well-being and there is more support for the rights of the individuals.

Deniz Zeyrek (2003) makes an ethnographic analysis of Turkish culture and examines the influence of social factors like power, distance and gender on linguistic practice in Turkish, by highlighting the importance of relatedness, group-consciousness and collectivism in Turkish culture. According to Zeyrek (2003:44) “relatedness and group consciousness are central aspect of Turkish culture. Social networks provide support to individuals and in return thrive on their loyalty”. The concept of relatedness refers to closely-knit social and familial network in Turkish culture. Similarly, Kağıtçıbaşı (1990a, 1990b, 1996) in her cross-cultural study contributing on the value of children for parents in the Turkish family indicates the concepts of “family interdependence” and “family culture of relatedness” for the Turkish family of modern times. She also underlines the concept of “related autonomy” which refers to being autonomous, having separate self-boundaries and functioning, and at the same time being related to family, friends and groups. Accordingly, the construct of autonomous-related self emerges within a model of family change reflecting a global pattern of urbanization and socioeconomic development in the “majority world” with collectivistic cultures of relatedness (see Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005).

In a similar vein, several studies in cross-cultural psychology have displayed that cultural orientation of an individual and a society is not fixed and changeable due to immigration, travel, overseas study or work (Heine, Lehman, Markus and Kitayama, 1999 among others). Yamaguchi (1994) stated that some of the collectivistic cultures are now more individualistic than before as a result of Western influences in various fields of the social life, especially in the reformation of the educational system. In contrast to this opinion emphasizing that cultures will move in the direction from collectivism to individualism, Kağıtçıbaşı (1990, 1996, 2005) points out a model of family for the changing societies like Turkey and claims that the change may not be in the direction of attributes in the expense of collectivist tendencies. Changing cultures may move towards individualism while they keep their relatedness and collectivist tendencies at the same time.

The deep concern for the familial ties of Turkish people can be understood from the results of a cross cultural study conducted by Üskül, Hynie and Lalonde (2004) to explore the cross-cultural differences in interpersonal closeness to different people (i.e., family members, romantic partner, friends) among Turkish and Canadian sample of university students. Much higher interdependent self-construals were observed among Turkish participants as they underlined the

importance of connectedness, social context and relationships. Studies on parent-child relations shed further light on control, autonomy and relatedness issues in Turkish culture. A study with Turkish minority families in Germany and in the Netherlands (Phalet and Schonpflug, 2001) reveals that parental autonomy goals for adolescents do not imply separateness, and that achievement values are associated with parental values. Similarly, Phalet and Claeys (1993) mentions that while for Belgian youth future achievement has only an individual meaning, for Turkish youth it has the additional meaning of the family in sharing the pride.

Zeyrek (2003) also reports that cordiality and conformity are quite pervasive and evident in Turkish culture. Cordiality and conformity with others are observable as an interactional style in every part of the life especially in hosting the guests and in helping strangers. For instance, Johnson et al. (2000) explore relationships between the cultural orientation of individualism and collectivism and respondents' self-reported likelihood of participation in surveys at three metropolitan universities in USA, Germany and Turkey. Findings are reported to be consistent with the expectations that people with individual orientations are less likely and people with collectivist orientations are more likely to be willing to comply with survey request. Least resistance was found in the Turkish sample for each measure. This result also suggests that collectivism is associated with conformity and people from collectivist cultures are more likely to exhibit conforming behavior.

Although recent studies have pointed out the co-existence of control, autonomy and relatedness in the modern Turkish family, the traditional families my respondents come from are characterized by interdependence in both material and emotional realms. Interdependent self, which is seen in urban low-socio-economic status contexts (see Kağıtçıbaşı, 1981, 1990a, 1990b) corresponds with Turkish women's views of self. Rather than being psychologically and economically autonomous individuals, they are given a role, a status only through their interaction with the larger group. As a result of the socialization process, women are more likely to have interdependent self-construals that focus on the self as contextualized and embedded in relationships with others. In other words, their sense of self and value drawn from their position in relation to others and their predetermined role within the group and wider society as a whole are reflected through their interaction patterns and linguistic choices.

1.2.1.2 Women in Turkish society: Linking Gendered Social Norms with Discourse

The representation of Turkish women in different studies has oscillated between portraying them as an exploited mass oppressed by harsh patriarchal rules of Turkish society and drawing an image of liberated Turkish women having the same rights as men by the modernization reforms of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The status of Turkish women is not "better" or "worse" than those of women in Western cultures, but it is simply different. Although women seem to be subservient to men, Turkey had a female supreme court justice long before many Western countries did, and Turkey had a female prime minister, something many of the Western countries, for all their success in women's liberation, haven't had yet. On the law books,

women have been equal to men for more than three quarters of a century in Turkey through the introduction of Turkish Civil Code (1926), where polygamy was banned, and women were granted equal rights in terms of divorce, child custody and inheritance. However, practice has not always matched the law. Women especially in rural areas usually fulfill more traditional roles due to the strong effects of traditions and Islam, and this causes women's equality to be a difficult goal to attain. Due to the rapid urbanization and demand of Western world, people migrate to either big cities or Western European countries within the last fifty years. However, a change in the living places does not change the experience of being a woman. "Apart from traditional clothes, regional dialects and food, people put their traditions in their luggage, along with their pillows and sheets as they migrate from rural areas to metropolitan areas" said Faraç (1998:184) in his book on honor crimes in Turkey. Faraç also mentions that customs and traditions are effective not only within the borders of Turkey, but also among the immigrant Turkish communities living in Europe. Hence, people cannot break their ties with their society, customs, and traditions.

Turkish society can be considered to have clear-cut gender role differences, supported by highly patriarchal marriage and family institutions (Kandiyoti, 1995). Males, as the dominant sex, are accepted as the ruler of the family to whom wife and children must ultimately respond. The wife's role is to take care of her family members and obey the ruling of the husband to protect the family structure. In short, Turkish people still generally value patriarchy (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1981; Kandiyoti, 1995). According to Akpınar (1998) gender norms in the Turkish cultural context consider marriage in the private sphere as a lifelong contract and prohibit public intervention into the private sphere, and this helps to strengthen men's power and women's subordination in marriage.

Religion is often misused in the form of an instrument to control women's sexuality and to legitimize the violation of women's rights. Different studies confirm that in the pre-Islamic period Turkish women had great freedom and did not sit quietly in their tents all the time. Rather, they were together with their men, "shoulder to shoulder," hunting or fighting. Acceptance of Islam, however, brought new codes where "males and females are construed as opposites, men as rational and capable of self-control, women as emotional and lacking of self-control" (İlkkaracan, 2001:1).

In Turkish culture, control of women's sexuality is conducted both by externally imposed restraints and by constituting gender according to cultural code of honor and shame, because a woman could bring shame not only on her family, but also on a network of people who feel connected to her. Delaney (1987) argues that "women's shame" relates to the theory of procreation in which she does not have the seeds of honor within her. That is, she lacks the power to create and project herself, she lacks a core of identity and autonomy. Thus, men must assure and protect the boundaries of their women. A good example of the "protective" legal system and the cultural emphasis on women's chastity is the virginity exams upon the women suspected of illegal prostitution and/or charged with "immodest behavior"; political detainees; girls in state-run dormitories, orphanages and hospitals; and rarely girls in high schools (Parla, 2001). Honor crimes have also become part of a national debate over women's rights. Perpetrators of such crimes

are legally entitled to shorter prison terms than those who commit similar crimes for different reasons. In honor trials, sentences for rape are eased if the victim is not a virgin. Thus, not only Turkish society but also the Turkish State plays a strong role in extending the control over the protection of honor and the risk of shame.

In addition to virginity control, each year tens of women or young girls are murdered by their families in the name of protecting family honor. Honor killings are committed for various reasons ranging from marital infidelity—it no evidence is required, the husband's suspicion suffices—pre-marital sex, flirting to running away from home. Since the murders are frequently not reported and the perpetrators receive light sentences, the concept of family honor is somehow encouraged through the legal system. Through these practices, representations of the shame and protection of honor for Turkish women are strongly embedded within the family web. Social control coordinated through the gaze of the wider community, and double standards which govern gender roles through the state practices such as virginity controls. All these factors lead Turkish women to experience a kind of “multiple consciousness” in their sexuality because they cannot experience their sexuality autonomously as a natural part of their gender identity, but on the account of their family, wider social network and the whole community they live in.

Femininity in Turkish culture is seen as inherent, an innate attribute of the girls which must be experienced secretly and in privacy. Masculinity, however, is taken as something that boys lack and must acquire as they grow up. Ritual practices such as circumcision and completing military service ensure that young boys and young men acquire masculinity and are eligible for marriage. In contrast, no ritual is performed for girls for experiencing menstruation, for example, because femininity and the female body should be hidden, preserved in privacy, and in no way should be a matter of talk.

In “Masculine Domination”, Bourdieu (2001:53) brings our attention to the honor/shame complex and gender polarity in the protection of honor:

Like honor—or shame, its reverse side, which we know, in contrast to guilt, is felt before others—manliness must be validated by other men, in its reality as actual or potential violence and certified by recognition of membership of the group of ‘real men’.

Put differently, being in line with Goffman's notion of public face, Bourdieu describes manliness as an externally evaluated and approved active and reproductive capacity. Accordingly, the construction of “habitus” implies that men as the powerful agents have the right to set up the rules of the games in social arenas where women can be hardly seen. Hence, asymmetrical power between males and females and the definition of honor in relation to women's body and behavior in Turkish society give only symbolic roles to women as carriers and bearers of the group, whilst men are seen to be determiner of the cultural gender norms and the roles.

1.2.1.3 Turkish Women in an Immigrant Setting

In the 1960's unqualified, low-wage laborers came to the Netherlands to fill the gaps in the lower segments of the Dutch labor market. Beginning in the late 70's, many of these immigrant workers brought their families to the Netherlands. Numbering 299,000, Turkish immigrants now constitute the second largest immigrant group in the Netherlands, approximately one-quarter of the country's total immigrant population (De Valk et al. 2001). Turkish immigrants were expected to stay in the Netherlands temporarily, but it became clear that there was a permanency to their residence. Although labor migration has considerably decreased since the 1980's, a large number of the people from the second generation fetch their spouse from Turkey.

High unemployment, poor education, low income, and inability to speak Dutch often leave Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands culturally separated from the host population. Turkish immigrants are geographically concentrated in certain districts of big cities such as Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht, and in smaller cities in industrial areas, e.g. Arnhem, Enschede and Groningen. In these places, Turkish communities live in the same neighborhoods where Turkish food shops, teahouses, cultural clubs, mosques and *buurt huizen* (community centres) are located. This physically and socially segregated setting maximizes acculturation stress and reduces integration into the host society. Moreover, a shifting image of the "Turks" has been determined by the Dutch societal experiences with the Turkish community. The discursive shifts about Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands, from guest workers to foreigners, to ethnicized strangers and religious outsiders have constituted women and men differently. The focus of this thesis will be upon two types of woman: employed immigrant women who have access to waged work in host societies, and unemployed immigrant women whose activities are restricted to the household without having a work experience outside the house. The major consequences of the migration process on women concern women's image, family structure and role patterns in the family.

Turkish immigrant women have increasingly been treated as typical Muslim women by Dutch authorities. This stereotype combines gender (the image of oppressed women), tradition (the socialization in underdeveloped rural areas) and cultural background (Islam's backwardness) (see Şenocak and Adelson 2000). Discourses invent an Islamized woman's body around the notions of being non-civilized, old fashioned, inferior and undesirable. Consequently, Turkish women are prejudicedly perceived and presented as silent victims who are unable to adapt to modern Western lifestyle.

On the other hand, Turkish immigrant communities where Islam becomes a dominant cultural element and an identity issue more than it is in Turkey, assign certain roles to women while constructing themselves as different communities. As the first generation consists of traditional, less-educated and religious people, the whole of the culture is permeated by religious, ethical and normative considerations, each institution or pattern of behavior is measured against religious and moral standards. In such a normative context, norms are not only regulative, but also constitutive within the inner mechanism of the immigrant community. Baker et al. (1999) state that women's increased autonomy and new status in a more liberal

setting conflict with ongoing social conduct and threaten traditional male privileges both in public and private context. Akpınar (2003) in her article, where she researches violence against women in the migration context, insightfully argues that the function of women as carriers and bearers of group identity becomes important in immigrant settings where ethnic identity becomes an issue to consider. A woman who attempts to violate boundaries not only put her family name under risk, but also the whole Turkish community she represents.

Abadan-Unat (1977) points out that employment of immigrant women leads to a noticeable decrease of extended families and a sharp rise of nuclear family role structures. Employment of women and a shift from traditional family patterns affect primarily the division of tasks concerning bread-winning, establishments of joint savings and bank accounts. However, as mentioned by Kadioğlu (1994, 1997), working outside the house does not change their status within the family regarding responsibility in housework, cooking, cleaning and caring for children, and within the society concerning their potential as a source of defilement violating certain set of group rules, values, and loyalties. Hence, women suffer the double burden of work both in the public domain and in the household. Although they are given the chance of having more individualistic, independent, risk-taking behavior patterns compared to non-immigrant society, this opportunity is challenged by the native culture. Then, they are only financially better off than their non-immigrant counterparts. Abadan-Unat (1977:55) concludes this situation as follows: “migration as a component of modernization is exercising a double function: promoting emancipation of women as well as creating a false climate of liberation, which actually does not surpass increased purchasing power, thus resulting only in pseudo-emancipation.

1.2.1.4 Reflection of Gender Construction in Turkish Language

Feminist researchers (Lakoff, 1975; Spender, 1990) have identified areas of language structure and use that are gender-biased constructions and/or use of paired pronoun construction, where readers often explain generic masculines as male-biased or referring exclusively to males. They interpret such usage as affirmation and reinforcement of discrimination against women or patriarchal subordination of women to men. Sexist language theory accompanies the widely held conviction that gender-neutral language is absolutely fundamental to the social and political progress of woman issue. Turkish has no grammatical gender and embodies a lot of language structures containing female elements, but the subservient and submissive position of Turkish women is displayed through sayings and proverbs. In other words, grammatical structure does not allow a discrimination against females, but suppression of women is exhibited in the social dimension of language.

The pronominal system in Turkish makes no distinction between the sex of the addressee and addresser. It has only one first person singular pronoun *o* which requires interpretation of hearer/reader. Braun (1997) argues that Turkish has a “covert gender system” in her in-depth analysis of communication of gender in Turkish. She shows that grammatical neutrality as is the case in Turkish does not necessarily correspond to gender neutrality in discourse. Furthermore, Braun's data reveal the fact that even grammatically neutral forms can be gender biased. A

general rule to be drawn from her data is that male gender usually remains unmarked regardless of context but female gender tends to be overtly expressed as in the case of *bayan polis* (lit.) woman police. This fact makes females appear as the "deviant gender" in social practices in terms of many occupations and social roles. Wardaugh (1997) makes a comparison between English that marks for gender in its pronominal system and Chinese, Japanese, Persian and Turkish that do not. He confronts the idea that males using these languages are less sexist than males who speak English. In other words, avoiding sexist terms and constructions or speaking with a language having no gender form is no guarantee that what you say will be free of gender bias.

In Turkish, femaleness tends to be more marked than maleness by emphasizing the motherhood and reproductive nature of women through word formation underlining fertility such as *toprak ana* (lit.) mother soil, *tabiat ana* (lit.) mother nature, through words emphasizing the importance of the referent such as *anayol* (i.e.) main road, (lit.) mother road, *anavatan* (i.e.) native land (lit.) mother land, *anapara* (i.e.) capital (lit.) mother money. However, many sayings and proverbs illustrate how women are degraded and discriminated and demonstrate how Turkish culture reflects a sexist society. I have shown (Kansu-Yetkiner, forthcoming) that proverbs underline not only the deep relation between society, culture and language, but also how oral linguistic practices and daily discourse of a language could be divested of sexual (im)positionings. Women in traditional Turkish culture are taught to be tolerant and self-sacrificed. They should be confined to domestic spheres and should be self-sacrificing to save their marriage even if they do not have any fault. *Yuvayı dışı kuş yapar* (Female bird builds the nest) and *Kadının yeri kocasının yanındır* (A woman should take her husband's side) are common sayings that remind women's role and status within the family. Men are entitled to have absolute authority within the domestic sphere. Gender norms in the Turkish cultural context consider marriage as a form of a life-long contract within a private sphere, which cannot be intervened by outsiders. This fact strengthens men's authority and women's subordination within the domestic sphere. The saying *Karının karnından sıpayı sırtından sopayı eksik etmeyeceksin* (You will not spare the litter from the woman's womb nor the cane from her back) expresses the gender norm that a woman, whose task is to give birth to children, should be beaten and has to be kept under control. Other sayings emphasize women's vulnerability, their incapacity of protecting themselves against dangers, and limited mental capacity as compared to men. *Kızı kendi haline bırakırsan ya davulcuya ya zurnacıya gider* (If you leave a girl unprotected, she will escape either to a drummer or to a flutist), or *Saçı uzun akli kısa* (Long haired, short witted) are commonly used sayings that illustrate how women's gender role and status are determined by externally imposed restraints.

In addition, traditional social ideology in Turkish culture provides another negative picture of women. Femaleness denotes negative and inferior characteristics in terms of social and interpersonal context. Therefore, it is usually used as a negative personality trait and a matter of humiliation for men. Denoting a man as *karı gibi* (i.e.) like a woman, or describing speaking manner as *karı gibi konuşmak* (i.e.) speaking/gossiping too much like a woman, are the common examples of this situation. Moreover, since being a female has negative connotations, a man's

tendency to listen to his wife's opinions or taking her approval before doing something are types of behavior conflicting with masculinity mode in Turkish society. For this reason *karı köylü* (i.e.) listening to wife's words, being closer to her family rather than his own *karı ağızlı olmak* (i.e.) speaking with wife's words are common expressions for men who respect their wives' opinions. In contrast, masculinity is upgraded as an appreciated mode of behavior and articulated as a compliment both for women and men such as *erkek gibi kadın* (i.e.) a woman like a man; brave, honorable etc. or *adam gibi adam* (i.e.) a man like a man/ a real man.

Women, as the muted group in a patriarchal society, are kept in lowly position, since language and its meanings are controlled by men. Proverbs, in this respect, function as one of the cultural value enhancers sustaining patriarchy as a social system. Apart from this, encoding of a negative image of womanhood as an expression of the wisdom of the society has another negative effect: negativism on women becomes a socio-cultural norm and perpetuates women's position as proverbs are repeated again and again in daily discourse (see Kansu-Yetkiner forthcoming a). Changing linguistic practices on the morphological level (that is, the usage of generic terminology) would not automatically mean that women are liberated from all modes of patriarchal structure. Avoiding a blanket approach which treats different examples of linguistic sexism manifested at different language level in the same way, Cameron (1998:14) states that "there is slippery heterogeneity about so-called 'sexist language': it is not just a case of certain words being offensive, but a part of a language's core, through to stylistic conventions in specific 'fields' of discourse, which are much less general, more conscious, and more context-bound". Therefore, rather than demonstrating a link between the use of certain language items and sexist attitudes, the nature of sexism and the linguistic support given in different dimensions of discourse must be more under scrutiny.

In the following section, I will shift from the back stage where individuals go under the process of socialization and plan their public presentation to the front stage where they present and perform their constructed selves.

1.2.2 Front stage

The front stage is an arena allowing individuals for establishing proper "setting", "appearance" and "manner" for the social role assumed by the actor. It is the platform for the theatrical performance to describe the "fronts" that people select to perform. Goffman (1959) uses the term "front region" to refer to the place where the performance is given. He considers the performance of an individual as an effort to give impression that his activity in the region maintains and embodies certain standards. He categorizes these standards into two groups, which display interpersonal and personal characteristics respectively. While the former grouping has to do with the way in which performer treats the audience, namely politeness, the latter group of standards has to do with moral requirements and instrumental requirements which are the consequences of "social establishment" (Goffman 1959:111). The process of establishing social identity is, then closely associated with the concept of "front", which is "that part of the individual's performance which regularly functions in a general and fixed fashion to define the situation for

those who observe the performance” (1959:32). The front functions as a vehicle of standardization through which actors are obliged to fulfill the duties of cultural gender roles and/or social norms with an appropriate timing in a consisted manner. This process, what Goffman calls, “dramatic realization” is structured by the art of impression management which consists of “many minor inadvertent acts happen to be well designed to convey impressions in appropriate at the time” (1959:203). During a performance, information about the actors is given off through a variety of communicative sources. In this study we will focus on cautious self-description and indirect interactional style.

The following chapters will be in service of the analysis of front stage performances. The contents of the subsequent chapters are detailed below.

1.3 Overview of the Thesis

This thesis comprises 8 chapters. Chapter 1 has introduced the aim and frame of the study by providing a broad description of the socio-cultural situation of Turkish women. It has been underlined that in collectivist cultures or in contexts where a sense of relatedness is perceived and/or imposed, the participants act according to culturally and situationally determined rights and obligations. Chapter 2 will review scholarly literature of self-presentation and politeness theory. Subsequently, the focus will be shifted to facework in Turkish culture. In Chapter 3, I will outline the methodology of the study and give the details on participants. Chapter 4 conceptualizes humor within the framework self-presentation theory and opens a wide window self-presentation in terms of humor use in the form of assertive, defensive, protective and offensive self-presentation strategies. Self-presentation strategies will be globally discussed in terms of humor usage. Chapter 5 first provides an elaborate analysis of evasive communication in corpus-based approach following the traces of defensive and protective self-presentation styles. Subsequently, depersonalization through pronominal shift will be under focus. Different pronominal shifts employed by Turkish women will be designated with respect to topic sensitivity and the hypothesis that topic sensitivity is the driving force behind the pronominal shifts will be supported by quantitative analysis. Chapter 6 will indicate the interactional implications of euphemistic indirectness and vagueness by placing special emphasis on protective self-presentation providing an empirical support in the analysis of euphemistic reduplications. Chapter 7 is in search of the linguistic reflections of assertive self-presentation in the use of two sincerity markers *vallahi* and *gerçekten*. Different cultural orientations of self (collectivism vs. individualism) are the main implications derived from distributional analysis of these markers with respect to topic sensitivity and group differences. The final chapter, Chapter 8 will indicate the socio-psychological, cultural and linguistic implications of Turkish women’s talk on socially stigmatized taboo topics. The conclusions underline that gender and cultural roles affect the organization and content of discourse and that the reflections of self and choices in interactional style are results of intersubjective influences of cultural meanings, normative practices and personal interpretations. Suggestions for further research will also be provided.

2 Theoretical Background: Many Faces of Facework

2.1 Introduction

Cross-cultural uses of the concept of face are diverse and the concept of “face” is considered to be a hallmark in people’s explanations of themselves and others in social interaction. “Face” and “facework” were not discussed by Western social scientists until the late 1950’s. In a seminal essay, entitled ‘On facework’, Goffman (1955) borrowed the term “face” from the Chinese and staked out this conceptual territory in a careful systematic study. Although different approaches to facework within the framework of different politeness theories have arisen in the meantime, all current research traces its immediate intellectual roots to Goffman.

Before reviewing these approaches, it is suitable to discuss characterizations of “face” and “facework”. Face is a social phenomenon; it comes into being when one person comes into the presence of another. Face stands for the socially situated identities people claim for themselves or attribute to others, whereas facework references communicative strategies that support or challenge those situated identities. For Goffman, face is “the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact” (1955:2). Under his theory, people try to maintain their own face, as well as protect the face and feelings of others in an interaction. Hence, facework contains both defensive and protective nature which requires the reciprocal monitoring of social activity. The “face wants” individuals work for can be different in different contexts. Downgrading strategies such as self-handicapping strategies or self-mockery could be the signs of sophisticated tactics.

As facework is a routine part of a social matrix in which behavior is a response to internalized norms and to other’s demands for self-identification, one has the opportunity to construct different faces for different audiences. We may have different faces for our children, for our spouse, for our students, for our colleagues, for our enemies, for our employees, and so on. Each face has different characteristics and may provide distinct advantages. For instance, a university faculty member might adopt a “professor” role with a strict, authoritarian personality at the university and at home s/he might immediately shift into a “parental” role and deliberately lose in chess to make her/his daughter happy.

Goffman depicted face maintenance as a rule of social interaction that is executed in order to achieve other social and conversational goals as well as personal social gain (see Goffman, 1959).

Faces can be damaged in various ways. For that reason, face maintenance is an important aspect of social interaction. Actions that catch people out of face have impact not only for the actor but also for the interaction and the social structure. Borrowing an example from Goffman (1959) imagine a doctor who, during an operation, allows the patient to fall off the operating table. Neglecting the outcomes for the unfortunate patient, let's just consider the doctor, nurses, and staff involved in this event. Firstly, at the professional level the doctor has shown a bad performance. Apart from the embarrassment, anxiety, and guilt he feels, this unforgivable event jeopardizes his career, his reputation, and financial future. Secondly, at an interactional level, the normal course of the interaction is disrupted. It is almost impossible to form a course of action that turns the atmosphere into the one prior to the incident. At the societal level, this event could probably have consequences for the reputations of those who claim similar faces—doctors will be trusted less than before. Thus, face maintenance has diverse consequences. It affects not only the performer who falls from face, but also all participants associated with the disrupted interaction, and social structure.

Goffman developed a theory in which he explained tactics of self-presentation styles of individuals in daily social interactions. In his words, “the individual will have to act so that he intentionally or unintentionally expresses himself, and the other will in turn have to be impressed in some way by him” (Goffman, 1959:2). Hence, the impression determines the way we appear in social life, and the reactions of others towards us are shaped by our impression. Goffman (1955) classified “basic kinds of face-work” into two groups as avoidance processes and corrective processes; “Avoidance process” stands for efforts to avoid negative impressions and prevent threats to self's or other's face. People engaging in avoidance processes often avoid situations that could be embarrassing or humiliating and thus forgo certain opportunities to convey favorable impressions. Avoidance-based maneuvers according to Goffman, are diverse. They can range from discretion, circumlocutions, deceptions, or phrasing one's replies with careful ambiguity, to employment of a joking manner to take the line that interactants are good sports, able to handle the situation smoothly. Avoidance processes can be considered a rather passive form of attempts to create a desirable impression.

In contrast to avoidance process”, the corrective process involves individuals' attempts to correct undesired identities or to minimize the damage after an attack or threat to one's face. One of the typical situations leading to corrective practices is that a person could be deemed to be responsible for a socially stigmatized event. Goffman (1955) identifies four types of counter actions in case of an event which introduces a need for corrective practices. They can be summarized as i) taking full responsibility of the event implying that threatening claims are too tough and have to be brought back into the line (process-challenge), ii) mitigation of the situation, claiming that it is a meaningless event, or an unintentional act, “understating” of extenuating circumstances, meaning of the event can be attributed to its initiators, offering compensation for the consequences, remedy for the losses (offering), iii) acceptance of the event in a reestablished

expressive order (acceptance), iv) showing remorse and signs of gratitude for being forgiven (thanks).

Following the footprints of Goffman's seminal work, different studies on politeness and facework have been conducted. Current approaches to facework can be categorized into two sorts; a) sociolinguistic approaches to politeness theory; and b) socio-psychological research on self-presentation and impression management. On the one hand, people's self and other identity concerns are so complicated that many aspects of facework can be neglected, if we consider only psychological aspects of a certain interaction. On the other hand, language in facework is so multifunctional, so complex that, existed linguistic theories are far from covering multi-purposeful strategies in facework, different dependants/parameters/variables of face wants (i.e. situation, personality, culture), and different strategies for desired entities. So, each approach has its limitations, but to combine them may allow us to set off their shortcomings and to give adequate attention to both an elaborate analysis of self-presentation strategies and implementation of them in discourse behaviors.

The purpose of this chapter is threefold: to review and critique current politeness theories with specific reference to BL's politeness theory, to offer the beginning of a speaker-oriented politeness theory of facework, which takes account of the full range of identity and personal face concerns people have in interaction and attends to the ways these concerns are expressed in discourse practices, and to discuss the notion of face and facework in Turkish culture as the underlying motivation behind the strategic self-presentation and politeness.

2.2 Theories of Politeness: An Overview

2.2.1 Robin T. Lakoff

Linguistic politeness lies implicitly at the very heart of a great deal of gender and language research conducted by Lakoff (1973, 1975, 1989a, 1989b, 1990) and her statement that women are more polite or deferent than men underlies the analysis of a range of linguistic features, from tag questions to directives. Lakoff underlines certain weakness of linguistic theory by connecting politeness with Grice's Cooperative Principle (Grice, 1975). Lakoff proposes a politeness rule on a par with the Gricean clarity rule and takes attention to the social aspect of language use when the speakers are not maximally clear. Accordingly, if the hearers realize that speakers do not fully adhere to Gricean maxims, they try to find out a reasonable explanation in the politeness rule. Lakoff introduces three politeness rules: "Don't impose" (Rule 1), "Give options" (Rule 2), and "Make one feel good and be friendly" (Lakoff, 1973:298). Depending on which of the rules is more important, speakers can be said to adhere to a strategy of Distance (rule 1), Deference (rule 2), or Camaraderie (rule 3) (Lakoff, 1990:35). Although these rules can be observed in any interaction, different cultures tend to emphasize one or the other.

Lakoff's conversational-maxim conceptualization of politeness has been the target of some criticism for being too vague to be operative and for not dealing with

the question of what politeness actually is (Van de Walle, 1993; Watts et al., 1992b). The model does not clearly explain how the three proposed rules of politeness are to be understood and how interlocutors could decide on a particular strategy (see Fraser, 1990b).

2.2.2 Brown and Levinson's Politeness Theory

BL originally published their politeness theory in 1978. Politeness, as defined by BL (1978:1), goes beyond the table etiquette and manners; it is about “getting the things we want” and ideally, it seeks to prevent any potential for presupposed aggression and to make communication between the parties possible.

BL's notion of “face” is derived from that of Goffman and from the English folk term, which ties up face with notions of being embarrassed or humiliated or losing face. Thus, face is something that is “emotionally invested, and that can be lost maintained or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction” (BL, 1987:63). Face is the key term in understanding politeness, it “can be lost, maintained or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to interaction” (BL, 1978:61). BL consider Goffman's concept of facework as a theoretical point, combining it with Grice's (1975) theory of conversational implicature and conversational maxims to create a theory of politeness. Within this framework, politeness relies basically on the assumption by interlocutors of rationality and efficiency in conversation (Grice, 1975) and on the addressee's recognition of the communicative intent of an utterance (Grice 1957).

According to BL (1978, 1987) face can be divided into two main categories: positive face (the need to be liked and admired) and negative face (the need not to be imposed on). Behavior which avoids imposing on others (or avoids threatening their face), is described as evidence of negative politeness, while sociable behavior expressing warmth towards an addressee is positive politeness behavior. BL also distinguish between “on-record” and “off-record” strategies and refer to these four kinds of politeness as super strategies. These kernel elements are essential in describing the quality of social interactions and relationships; the strategic orientation to participants' face lies on positive, negative, bald-on-record, and off-record politeness. Behaviors that run contrary to the face needs of senders and/or receivers are referred to as face-threatening acts (FTAs). For instance, various communicative acts such as insults or criticisms can threaten hearers' positive face by expressing disapproval, whereas requests for favors can threaten hearers' negative face by constraining hearers' behaviors and imposing on their autonomy. Other behaviors can threaten speakers' own face needs; a confession of wrongdoing can threaten speakers' positive face because it may elicit disapproval from others, while a promise of help can threaten speakers' negative face by obligating speakers to engage in certain behaviors in the future.

Positive face

As stated by BL, the positive face is “the positive consistent self-image or ‘personality’ (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants” (1978:66). Positive politeness is oriented

toward the positive face of the hearer, the positive self-image that he claims for himself. The speaker expresses that s/he shares the hearer's wants (e.g. by treating him as a member of an in-group, a friend, or a person whose wants and personality traits are known and liked). In general, people want their plans, desires, achievements, and goals to be liked or approved by others. Examples of satisfying positive face-needs would be greetings, expressions of admiration and approval. The means of positive politeness consist of claiming common ground (in-group membership, common point of view, attitude, opinion, knowledge, etc.), conveying that speaker and hearer are cooperators (speaker indicates that he or she cares for hearer's concerns, wants what hearer wants, etc.), and fulfilling hearer's wants, thus redressing the hearer's face directly when hearer's wants are considered (see BL, 1978, 1987).

Negative face

Negative politeness on the other hand, is oriented mainly towards partially satisfying the hearer's negative face, his basic wants to maintain claims of territory and self-determination. Negative politeness is thus essentially avoidance based and the speaker recognizes and respects the hearer's negative face wants. BL define negative politeness, as "the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction--i.e. to freedom of action and freedom from imposition" (1987:61). Such desired non-imposition is also familiar as the formal politeness characterized by formality, restraint, and respect. For example, requests with apologies for the imposition satisfy negative face wants. Acts that primarily threaten hearer's negative face include orders, requests, advice, threats, reminders, and so forth. Negative politeness occurs in doing the *FTA* with face redress directed to the hearer's desire of freedom. Hence, a clash occurs between the want to be direct (*FTA* on record) and the want to be indirect (signaling respect for the hearer's desire for freedom). The use of hedges, honorifics and agent deletion also maximizes social distance and emphasizes hearer's remoteness, respect, and power.

Certain speech acts are intrinsically face-threatening, so under the politeness theory, a speaker will consider the strength of a potentially face-threatening act and choose a linguistic strategy to minimize that threat as much as necessary. Face threatening acts, or *FTAs*, can be differentiated according to whether they threaten positive or negative face and whether they threaten the face of addressee or speaker. *FTAs* that put the positive face in danger are those acts that harm an interlocutor's attempts to maintain a positive self-image. Therefore acts that threaten positive face-wants include criticism, disagreement, and the mention of taboo topics; threats to the speaker's positive face include acts such as self-humiliation, apologies and admissions of guilt.

FTAs that threaten negative face comprise those acts that may interfere with an interlocutor's freedom of action or freedom of imposition. Accordingly, acts that threaten an addressee's negative face include requests, advice, and statements of envy; acts that pose a threat to speaker's negative face include making promises unwillingly, expressing thanks and accepting an apology. BL (1987) acknowledged that these classifications of *FTAs* are not mutually exclusive since some *FTAs* offend both the positive and negative faces of an individual (e.g., complaints and

threats to an addressee) and similarly, some *FTAs* can harm both the speaker and the addressee.

There are possibilities for mitigation and redress of face threat at any given point of interaction. BL (1987) organize politeness super-strategies available to the speaker to minimize the threat of a specific *FTA* as given below.


- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| • do the <i>FTA</i> baldly on record | Most threatening to hearer's face |
| • do the <i>FTA</i> on record with positive politeness | |
| • do the <i>FTA</i> on record with negative politeness | |
| • do the <i>FTA</i> off record | Least threatening to hearer's face |
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Figure 1. Linguistic super-strategies for performing

In dealing with *FTA* the speaker must choose whether or not to go on record with the act. Going on record indicates that the speaker's communicative intent remains unambiguous; going off record means that more than one interpretation is possible in the form of an understatement, metaphor, and hints.

If the speaker decides to go on record with the *FTA*, then it can either be done directly or some attempts can be made to minimize its face damage. The former approach is the super strategy of bald-on record politeness in accordance with the Gricean maxims, which define "the basic set of assumptions underlying every talk exchange" (BL, 1978:95). This strategy primarily serves one purpose: to be of use for S "whenever S wants to do the *FTA* with maximum efficiency more than he wants to satisfy hearer's face" (1978:95). In other words, on-record utterances do not minimize the face threat and examples include direct imperatives, attention getters, warnings, or demands.

For the latter approach, however, there are two super-strategies available to diminish or counteract the potential face damage of the *FTA*. Positive politeness refers to the addressee's face wants by emphasizing communality and cooperation, whereas the negative politeness caters to the addressee's negative face wants by conveying a desire not to impose.

When the speaker wants to avoid responsibility, he or she goes off record in doing an *FTA* and leaving it up to hearer to interpret it (1978:211). The speaker here uses indirect, vague, and ambiguous language by employing metaphors, irony, rhetorical questions and contradictions. The off-record strategy is based on violation of Grice's maxims. In giving hints and clues, the speaker violates the Relevance maxim ("What a boring movie!"-implication of "Let's leave"); understating and overstating, speaker violates the Quantity maxim ("I told you a thousand times"); using metaphors, irony, rhetorical questions, and contradictions, speaker breaks the Quality maxim ("He is a real fish") (BL, 1987:215-222); and by using indirect, vague, or ambiguous language, the speaker violates the Manner maxim ("I am going you-know-where").

According to BL (1987:2) politeness constitutes the "expression of social relationships" and thus provides a verbal way to relieve the interpersonal tension arising from communicative intentions conflicting with social needs and statuses. Within the framework of this fundamentally social functionality, BL claim that their

theory, which is captured by their concept of a universal speaker/hearer or Model Person is universally valid.

2.2.3 Geoffrey Leech

The theory of politeness developed by Leech (1980, 1981, 1983) posits politeness within the framework of “interpersonal rhetoric”, where a broad distinction between semantics and pragmatics is highlighted. Semantics is concerned with the domain of grammar, the linguistic system, the code, whereas pragmatics is concerned with the domain of rhetoric, the implementation of the code, the relationship between the sense of a sentence and its communicative meaning.

Leech’s distinction between semantics and pragmatics overlaps with the Hallidayan functional distinction between the ideational and the textual functions. Accordingly, semantics and thus grammar covers the ideational function, while pragmatics involves both the interpersonal and the textual functions. Accordingly every utterance involves all three functions which are interpersonal, ideational and textual transaction. Interpersonal and textual rhetoric are both involved in the encoding and decoding of the utterance, textual rhetoric is involved in shaping the utterance.

Leech introduces six politeness maxims. These are Tact, Generosity, Approbation, Modesty, Agreement and Sympathy. Tact indicates minimizing cost and maximizing benefit to the hearer. Generosity refers to minimization of speakers’ own benefit, while maximizing that of the hearer. Approbation is about minimizing dispraise and maximizing praise of the hearer. Modesty involves minimizing self-praise and maximizing self-dispraise. Agreement concerns minimizing disagreement and maximizing agreement between Self and Other. Sympathy is about minimizing antipathy and maximizing sympathy between Self and Other.

Maxims, situations and scales all interact to map the semantic sense to the pragmatic force of an utterance. According to Eelen (2001:9) “Leech’s concept of politeness is concerned with conflict avoidance, which is attested by the specifications of the maxims, as well as by his claim that politeness is geared to establishing comity”.

2.2.4 Sachiko Ide

Ide’s theory (1982, 1986, 1989, 1992) is based on the Japanese concept of politeness where she sees politeness as basically involved in maintaining smooth communication. The basic point she criticizes in BL, Lakoff and Leech is that in their models speakers employ a verbal strategy to attain their interactional or personal goals. As this kind of politeness provides a freedom for the speakers to choose of a mode of action among different alternatives, she labels it as ‘Volition’. In contrast to volition, she introduces another component of politeness ‘Discernment’ which stands for socially obligatory verbal (grammatical) choices.

Ide's development of the concept of 'Discernment' is based on the use of honorific forms in Japanese. BL's theory is criticized for not providing an adequate explanation on this issue. Moreover, in other theories it is noted that Gricean maxims are continuously flouted for politeness reasons. Ide underlines that this is impossible in Japanese, as there are no socially neutral forms and the speakers must always choose between honorific and non-honorific forms. As long as the use of honorific forms is absolute, then politeness is not related to speaker's free will and it directly indexes socio-cultural characteristics of the interactants. Hence this absolute use of honorifics brings about a view of politeness determined by social conventions, which is expressed by the Japanese term *wakimae*, where being polite to a person of a higher position, a person with power, an older person and being polite in a setting determined by the factors of participants, occasions and topics.

2.2.5 Yueguo Gu

Gu's theory (1990), which is a revised form of Leech's theory in the Chinese context explicitly connects politeness with societal norms. In contrast to the approaches of Lakoff and Leech which are descriptive and far from any connection with the moral or ethical nature of politeness, Gu emphasizes that politeness in Chinese context is essentially morally prescriptive in nature, and that rules and maxims mentioned in Leech are moral and socially sanctionable principles. In a similar vein, in discussing BL's politeness theory, Gu argues that facework is not applied due to personal face wants, but rather due to societal norms. Hence, face is threatened not when people's personal goals are not achieved, but rather when they fail to live up to social standards.

Within this framework Gu introduces four maxims: Self-denigration, Address, Tact and Generosity. Self-denigration is for admonishing the speaker to 'denigrate Self and elevate Other'. The Address maxim denotes addressing the interlocutor with an appropriate address terms, where appropriateness is determined by the hearer's social status, role and the speaker-hearer relationship. The Tact and Generosity maxims are closely related to Leech's maxims.

2.2.6 Bruce Fraser and William Nolen

Fraser and Nolan (1981) introduce the 'conversational-contract model' into the politeness theory. They put forward that each interactant, at the beginning of a conversation, brings to that encounter a set of rights and obligations to determine what the participants can expect from each other. This interpersonal contract can be revised in the course of time due to the change in context and the historical dimension of the relationship between the parties.

Politeness, then, is considered to be a matter of obeying the current terms and conditions of the conversational contract (CC) and impoliteness is to violate them. As an interaction goes on smoothly within the terms of the CC, politeness mostly passes by unnoticed, while impoliteness is marked. Hence, politeness does

not cover any form of strategic interaction or any attempt for making the hearer feel good.

2.2.7 Richard Watts

According to Watts (1992a, 1992b, 2003) politeness is a special case of politic behavior. Bernstein's distinction between elaborated and restricted codes and their reflection in closed and open communication systems is a significant aspect of the theoretical background of Watts' framework: Closed groups build up "we" communities, where individuals adopt a collective identity or self, whereas in open groups, the main focus is on individual self and "I" form. Relating this distinction with Ide's distinction of 'Volition' and 'Discernment', he argues that 'Discernment' plays an important role in cultures with closed communication systems, while Volition oriented cultures are more open. Hence, in this picture politeness is associated with open groups and 'Volition' can be seen as elaborated codes rather than group concerns, where individual choices are foregrounded. In this respect Watts differs from Ide in that he considers politeness in relation to 'Volition' whereas 'Discernment' is associated with politic behavior.

According to Watts, politeness is a subset of politic behavior which is explicitly marked and conventionalized. Therefore, the differentiation between politeness and politic behavior does not really imply a clear-cut fundamental difference. Specific linguistic forms are never 'intrinsically polite', so only the relationship of behavior to appropriateness conventions determines politeness.

2.2.8 Sara Mills

Sara Mills (2002, 2003) introduces a more community-based, discourse-level model of both gender and linguistic politeness within the framework of Third Wave feminist linguistics, which is a form of anti-essentialist analysis, critical of Second Wave feminist linguists such as Dale Spender, Robin Lakoff and Deborah Tannen for their focus on 'homogeneous women's language' rather than considering gender in terms of differential linguistic behavior of males and females as groups. She draws on a model of the relation between speakers and their communities of practice which is more concerned with the discourse level.

Mills argue that politeness as a concept is not neutral, but is already classed and gendered through the construction of a set of particular classed, raced and gendered positions. Thus, stereotypes of gender and class may impinge on assessments of linguistic behavior made by both scholars and interlocutors. Her point is that class is not a simple determinant of politeness norms, but politeness is a crucial element in constituting class differences. In analyzing politeness in relation to gender, it is very superficial to simply analyze males' and females' use of politeness strategies within particular interactions; what must be focused on in politeness studies in relation to gender is the gendered domains of speech acts and the perceived norms of the community of practice.

2.3 Some Observations

This overview of different theoretical perspectives on politeness by sketching their main positions and distinctive aspects revealed a few common characteristics: politeness is a significant tool in social indexing and it functions as a strategic means of conflict-avoidance.

BL's model is a well-designed and impressive model that brings together identity concerns, situational influences and discourse strategies. Many studies have tested their theory or applied it in different cultures and research arenas since their original publication. From a theoretical perspective, some problems have been found. For instance, Matsumoto (1989) argued that Gricean focus on propositional content in BL's politeness theory is inappropriate for language where the speaker's attitudes toward the social context are lexically encoded into an utterance as in the case of Japanese. Other researchers, for example, Ochs (1984), states the Gricean premise that an addressee must recognize the intention of a speaker's utterance (Grice 1957) and contrasts Grice's view by pointing out that certain societies give more importance to the consequences of an utterance than identifying the speaker's underlying intent.

BL argue that there is a hierarchical ranking of politeness strategies, with off-record being the most face-redressive, followed by negative, and then positive politeness. This view, however, does not always hold across cultures and has been criticized by various scholars such as Blum-Kulka (1991) who put forward that there was no clear ranking of these strategies as a result of analyzing data gathered from questionnaires to Israeli respondents.

Cross-cultural studies have also underlined the Anglo-centric bias of BL model conforming a strongly agentivistic paradigm. For Goffman, face is a public property that is only assigned to individuals depending on their interactional behavior, whereas BL characterize face as an image that belongs to the individual, to the self. Such a self-oriented characterization of face can be problematic in non-western contexts which conform predominantly to the pressure of external social and cultural norms. It is argued that BL's notion of politeness is far from covering the notion of politeness of non-western cultures where the discourse focus is not upon individualism, but upon group identity (Matsumoto 1989; Ide, 1989; Mao 1994), and where politeness associates with different moral meanings, concerns and values (Gu, 1990; Bayraktaroğlu and Sifianou, 2001; Kasper, 1990; Chen, 2001). Another objection echoed by many (see Gu, 1990; Ide, 1989; Matsumoto, 1988; 1989; Ting-Toomey, 1988) is that the concept of negative politeness is derived from individualistic natured Western society, but that this approach can not be successfully applied to collectivist cultures where the group interests are emphasized and takes precedence over individual interests.

Many of the above-mentioned researchers have criticized both over-extension and limitations of the use of the term 'face' in BL's politeness theory. Three main conceptual problems can be identified with respect to the notion of face in BL's politeness theory. Firstly, although facework is seen to provide the underlying dynamic, the theory limits itself to only one set of strategic possibilities, namely, politeness. However, speaker-oriented facework can also be achieved without politeness intentions. Secondly, as a consequence of the first limitation, the

politeness theory neglects issues of face aggravation by focusing only on face protection and mitigation of potential threat. Thirdly, while the politeness theory proposes that both self- and other self-directed strategies are possible, BL clearly neglect self-directed facework strategies in their analysis.

2.4 Face and Facework in Turkish Culture

There has been particular interest for the idea that differences among people's face wants can be related to cultural factors. BL's assumption, which is said to be universal, that all the ways of talk are grounded in rules of considerateness, is challenged by a host of studies with respect to cross-cultural comparison (Carrel and Konneker, 1981; House and Kasper, 1981; Scollon and Scollon, 1981, 1995; among others) and gender (Christie, 2001, 2002; Mills, 2002, 2003; among others) differences with regards to use of and social effects of politeness and more broadly with respect to the social importance imposed on a set of face wants. It would be appropriate to have a look at the concept of face in Turkish culture.

The notion of face (*yüz* in Turkish) is a fundamental part of social interaction among Turkish speakers, as illustrated in the following idiomatic expressions containing face notions: *yüzsüz* (lit.) faceless, (fig.) cheeky, shameless; *yüz karası* (lit.) the black of one's face, (fig.) shame, dishonor; *yüz vermek*, (lit.) to give face, (fig.) to spoil a person; *yüzünü kızartmak* (lit.) to make one's face blush, (fig.) to demean or humiliate one's self; *yüzünü ağartmak* (lit.) to brighten one's face, (fig.) to make one proud (see Moran, 1989).

According to Ruhi and Işık (2005) face in Turkish refers to

- (1) the whole face considered as a surface or as the color of the skin of the face, as when people can/cannot claim specific positively valued attributes or as when they (may) feel embarrassed due to (possible) failure to meet self- or other-imposed behavioral expectations;
- (2) the eyes as when a person can/cannot look someone in the eye in issues related to behavioral expectations.

Hence, the first component of the definition stands for the projection of the desired social image and claims to situation-specific social identities ('face as self-presentation') whereas the second one indicates social worth and debt-sensitivities in social relationship ('relational face').

In this study, I take the notion of face as the cognitive concept having a key role in the interpretation of social conduct and self-presentation in relation to honor/shame duality. I therefore argue that honor/shame and reputation are culturally defined. Face in Turkish culture is regarded as the equivalent of honor and refers to a person's social reputation, prestige, esteem, intrinsic worth, and moral integrity. Honor implies the risk of shame for speakers themselves and for the wider context of their social relations. Face is thus considered as externally determined and evaluated, and as a public and interpersonal notion, in contrast to being a private or personal matter. It is, in Goffman's terms, a public property.

The implicit idea in the honor-shame duality is the protection of women, and consequently the protection of the family honor through controlling women's sexuality, because the actual components of honor are different for women and men. For example, when we consider the cultural code of honor and shame, we see that there are separate words for honor in Turkish. They are: *şeref* and *namus*. While *şeref* refers to a man's reputation as a participant in the community, *namus* stands for "his reputation as determined by the chastity of the women in the family" (Özgür and Sunar, 1982:350). The risk of shame requiring chaste behavior is associated with women's honor, whilst men are expected to protect his family from insults and threats. Within this cultural frame, Turkish women have to be publicly self-conscious depending on their culturally determined gender role, and their status both in the family and in the society. They should work towards sustaining the social status and the honor of their family, because the concept of honor plays a substantial role in the lives of both men and women in Turkish society. Man's honor is inextricably tied to a woman and can be harmed through the behavior of his woman and children.

Concerning this socio-cultural frame, it is not surprising to observe (as we shall see) that the female discourse is woven around honor and shame as my respondents talk on sexuality or other sensitive topics. "Multiple consciousness" of Turkish women about face management is also reflected in their facework strategies because they try to manage the risk of shame not only for their own account, but also for the wider range of their social relationships. Hence, by maintaining their face and protecting their honor, Turkish women also avoid bringing shame to themselves and to their families. This kind of facework will become evident when speakers are compelled to disclose intimate information on topics that are not freely talked about in 'polite company'. As speaking about sexual experiences or gynecological problems and procedures is such a taboo and its sanction is doubled when the close-knitted Turkish communities, where massive flow of information is the main factor of social control, are taken into consideration, Turkish women resort to preventative and corrective actions. Preventative actions are geared toward preventing or minimizing threats evoked through the interviewer's opening a discussion on socially stigmatized topics. Considering that being involved in such a conversation can be a social risk, respondents try to avoid the threat to the self's face which represents both the respondents themselves and their wider social contacts. However, if the respondents feel offended for being in such a conversation and being interviewed on a socially stigmatized topic, then the facework strategies are built for the reconstruction of the damaged image or 'reframing' plans.

The notions of face and self-image in Turkish culture correspond to distinct ingroup and outgroup relationships, strong interpersonal bonds, commitments and moral values. In this sense, as proclaimed by Zeyrek (2001), Turkish culture displays relatedness and group consciousness where "self" is defined in relation to individuals' relationships with others. For instance, especially in rural areas, this "interdependent self" is observable in women's nicknames, which are specifically effective if there is more than one person having the same name. Women are nicknamed in relation to their husband's name or his job/characteristics unless they have an outstanding personal or physical trait. For instance, *Jilet'in Aliye* (Razor's Aliye) which means "Aliye the Razor's wife" is a good example where "razor"

stands for her husband's nickname as he is an aggressive, quarrelsome fellow. Depending on the interdependent nature of self, reputation is seen as a social attribute, which is externally supervised, valued or devaluated by other members of community. The interdependent notion of self features individuals as connected to the social context so that people try to fulfill social and cultural obligations to become a part of a community, rather than defining themselves with their personal characteristics and achievement. Their reputation is consequently associated with their social contacts.

As a result, the way women verbalize and situate their experience as text provides a resource for the self. The experiences of inequality in social conduct and subordination that circumscribe the life of women give rise to a moral-grounded facework in human interactions. Being the product of external conditions of existence, the habitus of self will, therefore, develop similar features, similar way of thinking, acting and perceiving the world. To what extent is this self unique and agentive as long as we are talking about speaker-oriented face where collective intentionality precedes individual intentionality? Borrowing Ide's notion of "discernment", we can say that the strategy of "discernment" has taken precedence over that of "volition" as a socially-culturally determined behavior directed towards the goal of establishing and/or maintaining in a state of equilibrium the personal relationships between the individuals of the social group during the ongoing process of interaction. In other words, the notion of "discernment" is not linguistically but culturally operative in Turkish society. Politeness and politeness norms among Turkish women are used both to ensure smooth interaction and to avoid any harm to social reputation. Hence, politeness is used to enhance other's social standing and "feminine voice emerges with great clarity, defining the self and proclaiming its worth on the basis of the ability to care for and protect others" (Gilligan, 1982:79).

2.5 An Alternative Analysis of Facework

The significance of different scholars' contribution is indisputable with regard to their highlighting different aspects of politeness and notions of face across different cultures. The notion of speaker-oriented facework requires a combined framework consisting of politeness theory and self-presentation theory. In the first instance, my data highlight a range of self-presentational claims that are virtually ignored in politeness theory. For example, there are specific situations where people want to be seen as intimidating, needy, dependent, rather than desiring to be seen as pleasant and likable (see Jones and Pittman, 1982). Moreover, the significance of distinguishing between self- and other-directed facework determines the strategies, as they vary depending on whose face is being threatened. The main importance is also given on avoidance strategies available to the speaker to minimize the threat of a specific *FTA* for the hearer, but theorists are not concerned with what happened if a person's face is threaten or his/her image is under risk and what kind of face-saving strategies s/he is going to employ as a speaker. The identity claims of a speaker, what BL might think of, is competitive and provide conflicting aspects of positive and negative face, since supporting one aspect of face will lead to one attack on another.

A common conflict in everyday life is the clashing images between immediate context and wider social context, where a person's desire to be honest in the wider social context can be hampered by immediate remedies to 'save the day' in the immediate context. Consequently, both within the self and between people, various aspects of face come into tension with each other and it is very restrictive to explain them all within the framework of positive and negative face strategies.

Concerning all these abovementioned circumstances, self-presentation strategies and the politeness strategies are combined to preserve the social distance and to minimize the damage that has been done after desired entities have been threatened or to preserve the social distance. Different categories of self-presentation theory (i.e. offensive styles of self-presentation) can help us to take into account both the full range of identity concerns people have in interaction and their strategies of self-directed and other-directed politeness. On the one hand, people's self and other identity concerns are so complicated that many aspects of facework can be neglected if we consider only psychological aspects of a certain interaction. On the other hand, language in facework is so multifunctional, so complex that linguistic theories are far from covering purposeful strategies in facework, different varieties of face wants (i.e. situation, personality, culture), and different strategies for desired entities.

2.6 Facework in Self-presentation Theory

Several classifications of impression management have been suggested by researchers. A widely accepted classification of impression management behaviors distinguishes assertive and defensive tactics (Tedeschi and Lindskold, 1976; Tedeschi and Norman, 1985). Tedeschi and colleagues define assertive self-presentation as behavior aimed at establishing particular identities in the eyes of others, and defensive self-presentation as actions taken to reestablish a positive identity or remove negative typifications.

Arkin (1981) developed a similar classification between acquisitive and protective behaviors. Acquisitive self-presentation is associated with social approval and is largely synonymous with assertive self-presentation. Protective self-presentation implies very careful and conservative behavior aimed at avoiding disapproval, and includes modest self-descriptions, the use of uncertain expressions, and a reduction in the frequency of social interaction.

Later, styles of self-presentation were associated with self-esteem; that is a typical style of individuals with low in self-esteem and another typical style of individuals with high in self-esteem have been identified by Baumeister, Tice and Hutton (1989). These classifications have not systematically been related to each other. The literature based on a correlation between low esteem and self-presentation clearly suggests that protective self-presentation should be considered as an additional dimension which may be referred to as offensive self-presentation. Several self-presentational behaviors do not match any of the self-presentational tactics described in the literature. An integrative framework of self-presentational style, taking into account the similarities and differences of the established taxonomies as well as other derived aspects of self-presentation such as offensive self-presentation has been suggested by Schütz (1998a).

In Schütz's taxonomy, an important dimension of classifying self-presentation provides a person's effort to look good as opposed to efforts not to look bad. In the taxonomy suggested by Schütz, behaviors are distinguished on the basis of (a) intentions not to give any negative impressions and (b) intentions to achieve positive impressions (see figure 1). Thus, the behavioral categorization made by Schütz is explained as positive and negative facework in politeness theory. While BL focus on face protection and mitigation strategies, Schütz considers facework in a wider perspective by taking into consideration a wider range of identity claims through her additional categories.

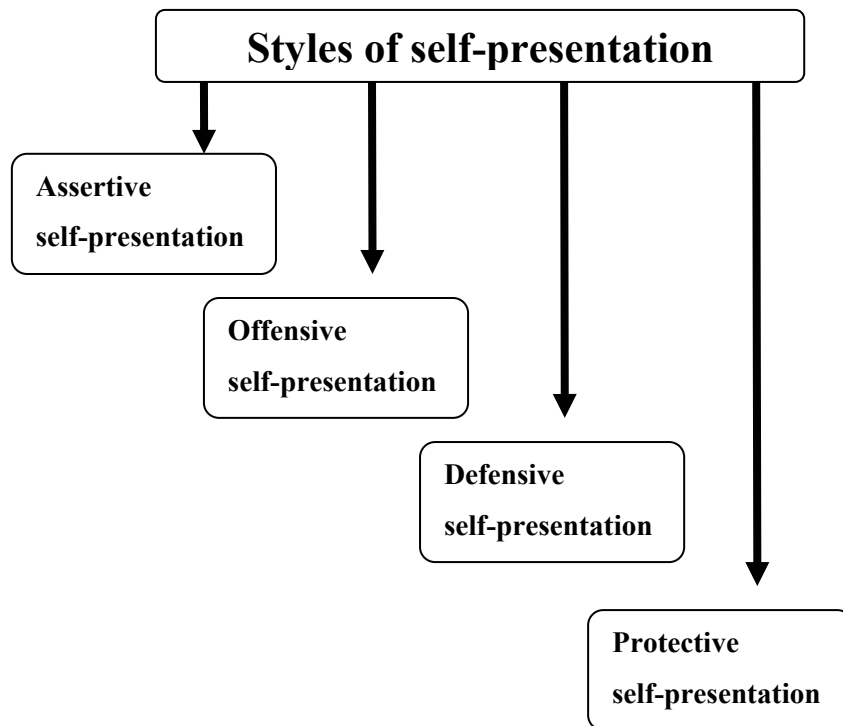


Figure 2. Schütz's taxonomy of self-presentation

The continuum of self-presentation from active to passive style can be scaled as follows:



Figure 3. Continuum from active to passive style of self-presentation

2.6.1 Assertive Self-presentation

Assertive self-presentation covers active, but not aggressive efforts to establish positive impressions. Actors performing assertive self-presentation project self-images desirable to them in a given situation. Assertiveness can be claimed either verbally or non verbally. Assertive behavior is explicitly contrasted to passive behavior, which is attributed to people who fail to express their true thoughts and feelings, allowing them to be dominated or humiliated by others, and who comply with the requests or demands of others even when they do not want to. Under the category of assertive self-presentation, Schütz (1998a) includes the following behaviors:

Ingratiation

Jones (1964) has suggested that ingratiation may be regarded as an illicit interpersonal tactic that can be used to secure benefits (or to avoid harm from others). Jones describes four modes of ingratiation: (1) complimentary other enhancement, designed to accent the strengths and virtues of the other, (2) opinion conformity or agreeing with the opinions of the other, (3) rendering favors, making nice things for others, and (4) attractive self-presentations in self-descriptions, explicitly presenting oneself in ways designed to create an attractive image. Ingratiation is a distinct sub-area of impression management because it aims at gaining attractiveness and it emphasizes pleasing others and the salience of short-term personal profit.

Jones and Pittman (1982) have suggested that in addition to being motivated to have others like them (ingratiation), people also want to be morally worthy. Helping others, neglecting one's own interests, or engaging in similar behavior represents a desire to appear morally worthy. An individual wants to be respected and admired for his integrity and moral values. He wants to be seen as "honest, disciplined, charitable and self-abnegating" (Pittman and Pittman, 1980:13).

Self-promotion

Showing successful performances or claiming such performances in the past are means of conveying the impression of competency to observers (Jones and Pittman, 1982). The self-promoter seeks attributions of competence, usually in one specific area such as knowledge or athletic performances. Tactics similar to self-promotion have been observed by other researchers. For instance, "basking in reflected glory" (Cialdini et al., 1976, Cialdini and Richardson, 1980) refers to

attempts to “look good” by associating oneself with those who are evaluated positively (Cialdini and de Nicholas, 1989). Two other tactics have been labeled “entitlements” and “enhancements” (Schlenker, 1975). Employing entitlements, people associate themselves with positive events; and with enhancements, they try to persuade others that events in which they are involved are more positive than they appear at first. To do so people attempt to maximize their responsibility for the event and the desirability of the event itself.

Another common assertive tactic observed in studies on campaigning politicians’ self-presentation is showing strength or power (Schütz, 1998a). The main aim is to manage a prestigious impression. Unlike the tactic of intimidation, a power display is not used to create fear, it is used to assure the audiences that speaker has a potential to create positive outcomes. As it comes to linguistic features of individuals’ speech within the dynamics of interaction (dominance in conversation), certain interactional features take on characteristic patterns such as interruption, topic control, talking time and so forth.

Speakers can also identify themselves with a specific group that is evaluated positively by the actor (Schütz, 1998a). This strategy includes verbal claims of membership and the use of symbolic self-completion. By using any of the innumerable ways to convey in-group membership, the speaker can implicitly claim the common ground with the hearer that is carried by that definition of the group. BL discuss identification under the title of “use in-group identity markers”, and this topic includes in-group usages of address forms, of language or dialect, of jargon or slang, and of ellipsis (BL, 1987:106).

2.6.2 Offensive Self-presentation

According to Schütz, offensiveness displays an aggressive way of positive self-presentation in order to establish a desired image (1998). People employ offensive self-presentation by using domination or insulting others in order to make themselves look good. Attacking others and presenting themselves as superior are the main methods to convey desired impressions.

Ironic statements or critical evaluation of a third party

If a speaker wants to damage the face of a hearer and does it indirectly, he must give him some hints and hope that the hearer could correctly interpret what the speaker implies. The main way to do it is to employ conversational implicatures. Saying the opposite of what he means, the speaker can indirectly convey his intended meaning through ironic statements. As a second tactic, the speaker may use an oblique allusion involving a veiled reflection of hearer’s character or behavior. He may articulate his criticism about an image or a third person in such an indirect way that he does not engage in any verbal dueling with other parties.

Criticizing the questioner

In this form of offensive self-presentation, the actor criticizes a person who raised a critical question in order to reduce the impact of criticism.

Attack the source of criticism

The source of criticism could possibly be a person who has negatively evaluated the subject or a publication whose critical comment is cited. By attacking the source's competency or credibility, actors can manage to look superior to observers. If a politician, for instance, comes across published evidence that contradicts his argument, he may call the respective article or book unscholarly or biased as can be seen in many of the talk shows on Turkish televisions.

Determining the topic of discussion

This offensive technique includes both attempts to change the topic of discussion and attempts to prevent others from changing the topic (Schütz, 1998). This technique can be accomplished overtly by stating "I do not want to talk about this" or "Let's talk about"... The goal may also be less obvious; the speakers may begin their statements by seemingly answering the respective question and then redirecting the argument to another topic, or they may talk without allowing turn takings and thus prevent others from joining the discussions and changing the topics. In other words, they control the interaction and avoid topics that do not allow them to create desired impressions.

2.6.3 Defensive Self-presentation

Defensive self-presentation could be necessary to minimize the damage that has been done after desired entities have been threatened or damaged (Tedeschi and Norman, 1985). In the situations in which persons' own performance or the events they are involved in have conveyed undesired images of themselves to others, defensive tactics can be employed to reduce negative impact of such events. However in general, the main reason leading to defensive reactions is that of a person held responsible for an event that is publicly evaluated negatively. Schütz (1998) uses four questions to understand the circumstances that give rise to defensive behavior in terms of reliability of the event, the moral nature of occurrence, the level of involvement and possible reaction scenarios: Did the event take place at all? Is the event to be evaluated negatively? Did the person in question cause the event? Could the actor have reacted differently? Usually a person involved in a bad event will try to soften the facts and try to supply as little negative information on herself as she can.

Denial

"It did not happen" is the main statement of this tactic. In order to give socially desirable responses people distort their self-disclosures to maintain or enhance their social image. Schlenker (1980:138) defines this situation as "the defense of nonoccurrence". Here the actor tries to persuade the others that the event under consideration did not occur.

Reframing

The person admits that a certain event has happened but argues that it should not be seen in a negative way. The main statement is "It was different" or "It was

not so bad". The speaker may attempt to present his faults as little as possible, if there are any. In other words, actors attempt directly to minimize the negativity of the event. The event is described as less (or not at all) harmful, untoward, bad, costly, important, improper, meaningful, significant, offensive, or whatever, than it might appear from a worst-case reading (Schlenker, 1980:144). For instance, in transgression situations, a mugger argues that the victim wasn't hurt too badly, a student who cheats may argue that it did not affect anyone else's grade, a child who has broken his car might say that it was very old. Hence, skillful actors can even transform a potentially undesirable event from something negative to something positive by the help of humorous manner.

Dissociation

The main statement is "it was not me". People using dissociation accept that a negative event has taken place, but affirm that they haven't caused it. Tedeschi and Riess (1981) called this behavior "denial of agency." The speaker might even claim not to be associated with the event in question. Cialdini and Richardson (1980) studied on this behavior; college students referred to their university football team as "we" in case of a winning score, but said "they lost" when the team had not been successful. Schlenker (1980: 138) called this situation "defense of noncausation". The actor accepts that an undesirable event occurred, but attempts to show that he or she was in no way responsible for it.

Justification

The main statement is "it was legitimate". Speakers using justifications admit that they caused a negative event. However, they would like to believe and persuade the others that it was inevitable or justified, and that they shouldn't be blamed. Justification depends on a social comparison processes in which the actor tries to minimize the undesirability of the event by comparing his or her own situation with that of others who do the same thing. "Everybody does it", or "others do worse things" are the typical statements of justification tactics. The conclusion is that if everybody does it, it must be reasonably normal or acceptable (see Schlenker 1980: 145).

Excuses

"I couldn't help it" is the common statement of this tactic. The speaker accepts responsibility for a negative event, but he lists extenuating circumstances. Excuses allow actors to admit that an undesirable event occurred, that their own actions in some way caused the consequences, but they are not really as responsible for the event as it might appear (Schlenker 1980: 140). Thus, excuses are an attempt to reduce one's responsibility in a negative event. Extenuating circumstances are the major category of excuse. They not only shift some of the responsibility for the event from the actor, but also allow him to claim reduced freedom of decision, or reduced competence at the time of the event. Such explanations are based on a variety of excuses: "I couldn't help it. I was drunk, stoned, coerced, under strain, sick, mentally ill, tired" and so on. These circumstances vary in their effectiveness in excusing the actor, depending on the situation.

Apologies

The final possibility is to take full responsibility for a negative event. Apologies could save a person's image as honest, and responsible (Schütz, 1998). In an apology, actors admit blameworthiness for an undesirable event, but simultaneously attempt to obtain a pardon or reduce the negative repercussions from the audiences. Apologies are designed to convince the audience that the undesirable event shouldn't be considered a fair representation what the actor is "really like" as a person (Schlenker, 1980:154). Goffman (1971:141) puts forward this point in defining one of the five elements of apology, which states that "clarification that one recognizes what the appropriate conduct should have been and sympathizes with the application of negative sanctions for such a rule violation". Similarly, in Turkish it is very common to apologize before articulating unwanted words such as swears, taboo words, slang words, words for genital organs etc. These preemptive apologies imply that the speaker knows that this word is improper for this situation, but he has to use it in this context. Hence, an apology offers an actor the opportunity to accept blame for a predicament and if successful, it allows the actor to leave the undesirable event behind and present a reformed identity to the audience.

This work is an attempt for establishing the theoretical basis for speculation of the sort we deal with. Although our framework could hardly be said to predict all the details in conversation analysis, it does suggest a more abstract level of explanation of conversational analysis on critical/taboo topics.

2.6.4 Protective Self-presentation

People engaging in self-presentation often avoid situations that could be embarrassing or humiliating and thus forgo certain opportunities to convey favorable impressions. The main goal of self-presentation has been described as creating desired impressions. Protective behavior, however, aims at less. In other words, the person does not try to look good or favorable, but simply not to look bad. Efforts are not devoted to establishing desired impressions, but to avoiding damage to established or assumed social identities.

Avoiding public attention

Avoiding attention is considered to be a means of trying to avoid criticism.

Minimal self-disclosure

Self-disclosure is the willingness to share information about one's personal states, dispositions, events of the past, and plans for the future (Derlega and Grizelak, 1979). Thus, it is the fundamental means of group interaction. In order to give others little opportunity for criticizing, the cautious approach is to say as little as possible.

Cautious self-description

People engaging in protective self-presentation try not to draw attention to their abilities and avoid the risk of positive self-presentation, which would expose

them to the possibility of negative evaluation in the case of future failure (Baumeister et al., 1989). Speakers rather reduce standards and describe themselves modestly.

Minimizing social interaction

The fear of being evaluated negatively may result in avoidance of social interactions because not interacting with others reduces the risk of leaving negative impressions, just as it reduces the chances of conveying favorable ones.

Remaining silent

When one says little or nothing in social interactions, there is little probability of saying something wrong. Hence again the risk of negative evaluation is reduced (see Schlenker and Leary, 1985).

Passive but friendly interaction

Establishing an image in pleasant and friendly terms, partners may limit others to uncritical responses (see Schlenker and Leary, 1985).

2.7 Conclusion

The aim of this literature review is threefold: to review and critique the two approaches, showing how the limitations of each could be offset by the strengths of the other; and to offer the beginnings of a communicative theory of facework, one that takes account of the full range of identity concerns people have in interaction and that attends to the ways these concerns are expressed in people's discourse practices. BL's politeness theory provides us with a rich, linguistically elaborated sense of how two very general identity concerns are displayed; it does not, however, give an adequate picture of the complexity of the identity issues that motivate communicative behavior. Such a picture comes more into focus when we look at how the study of face has been approached in several socio-psychological research areas. But, while self-presentation occurs in social situations, it is studied as a one-way phenomenon. Self-presentation theory largely ignores the fact that social situations involve at least two people. Not only is each person presenting his self; each person is orienting to the other(s) and presenting how he or she sees the other(s). Thus, it can be suggested that a relative face orientation construct can be posited to address a broader range of face and identity concerns shaping our interactional behaviors. Only in this way a coherent facework frame can be developed that extends BL's pioneering work. This reformulation could potentially account for all facework possibilities (i.e. self-oriented facework as well as other-oriented facework) and embrace both social identity and individual autonomy compartments of face.

3 Methodology

In this chapter, I will explain my research design, participant selection, participants' profile and data collection. Then, the corpus of Turkish Women's Interviews on Sexual and Health Topics (TWIST) will be described with respect to sessions and quantitative analysis.

3.1 Design

The primary concern of this study was to observe facework and self-presentation strategies of Turkish women during talk on sensitive, taboo topics giving rise to face-threatening situations to give an insight into cultural meanings of sexuality and their reflection on linguistic behavior. Concerning the theoretical frame of politeness and self-presentation theory and the notion of "face", the study was characterized by the comparison of the interactional and self-presentation styles of the women of two different Turkish cultures, namely Turkish women living in Groningen, the Netherlands who were exposed to the liberal, individualistic Dutch culture, and a group of relatively conservative, traditional and collectivist-natured Turkish women living in Ankara, Turkey within their own culture.

Several studies (Bergmann, 1992; BL, 1987; Holtgraves 1997, 2001; McGlone and Batchelor, 2003; among others) show that taboo topics are avoided and handled indirectly. I, therefore, anticipated that I would have difficulties in making women speak on delicate, private and stigmatized topics. BL (1987) stated "Irreverence, mention of taboo topics, including those that are inappropriate in the context" and "raising of dangerously emotional or divisive topics" as two items in their list of face-threatening acts. For that reason, I thought that it would be important to conduct interviews in an informal setting, and to select the participants as a member of a small social group. The idea behind this choice was that talking on delicate topics with familiarized participants would be more at ease and participant would be more likely to speak openly and sincerely with the people they know. Within this frame, I mainly consider speakers' management of their own face when confronted with the task of having to speak on socially stigmatized taboo topics, when they consider it as a face-threatening act. The respondents' behaviors were partly a reaction to the interviewer's violation of polite customs regarding the culturally inappropriate behavior of a stranger: seeking entry to the respondents'

home, wanting an hour or more of their time, and mainly asking questions that could be considered to be highly personal or even rude. Thus, it is not surprising for people to become more concerned with impressions that they create on others, as they talk about some risky, socially stigmatized or taboo topics on which they should not talk.

A double bind was created when all recordings were decided to be done in private, non-institutional settings, namely in the houses of different respondents who accepted to gather some of her friends and/or relatives and to host interactants during the interview. By putting them in a double role as a host and a participant, I not only reduced the risk of an open confrontation on answering very private and delicate questions, but also got the chance of observing their mitigation strategies between immediate context and wider social context, since having a host role they are culturally responsible for the entertainment of the guest (interviewer) invited to a respondent's own house to conduct an audio-taped conversation.

3.2 Procedure

By taking into account the difficulty in speaking on delicate issues, the questions in the theme list shifted smoothly from innocuous topics to sensitive topics. Questions about family and children, for instance, were effective ice-breaking elements allowing the interviewer to warm up the atmosphere and the interviewees to get used to giving an interview in front of a tape recorder probably for the first time in their life. In order not to break the flow of conversation and not to create an artificial question-answer session, the order of the questions was allowed to change. The questions were open-ended to provide the participants an opportunity to be as detailed as they wished. From rather harmless and risk-free ('innocuous') topics, the interview eventually moved to increasingly sensitive gynecological and sexual topics (see Table 1). Of all these topics, the nuptial night (traditionally involving proof of the consumption of the marriage and of the virginity of the bride) is the most intimate and private experience.

Table 1
Sensitive and innocuous topics in the interviews

Sensitive Topics	Innocuous Topics
Nuptial night	Daily life
Sex education (including menstruation)	Social networks of the respondents
Sex life, dating	Children and their school life
Gynecological problems	Child delivery (place, conditions, persons present)
Gynecological exam	Preference for female doctor
Abortion, birth control	Pregnancy
Miscarriage	Menopause

The topic of the talk was given as "women's health" and the linguistic purpose of the study was not mentioned, as that might have triggered "controlled" use of language. All respondents participated in the talks voluntarily. Prior to each

meeting, respondents were well informed about the fact that their talk would be tape recorded and data obtained from these talks would be utilized for academic purposes, and that information provided would be treated as strictly confidential. Informants were also aware that they had the right to refuse to answer the questions.

At the end of the sessions, went back home, I recorded my personal impressions about the participants, their interaction with others by giving details such as teasing, a visible tension, conflict, rivalry, solidarity and authority. I also described the interior of the house and noted small points and biographic details which may not be grasped through audio recording, and family relationships in the host house as much as I could observe in order to remember them vividly when I go back to my recordings and transcriptions.

3.3 Participants

3.3.1 Participant Selection Process

Contacting participants and attaining their cooperation met with different problems in Groningen and in Ankara. I will therefore discuss the process separately for the two groups.

The Groningen Group

In the early version of the study the selection of participants was purposeful and my intended samples in Groningen group were women between the age of 30 to 45 with an active sex life, born in Turkey (second generation females are too young to talk), but who had been living in the Netherlands for more than five years. After a few months into the participant seeking process, I realized that I had no chance to be selective as the age range of women available for participation showed great diversity.

The requirements to participate in the study were: to be a Turkish women, born in Turkey and raised in Turkish culture; to live in the Netherlands currently and I did/could not set an age limit concerning the diversity in age range of the women I could convince to participate. Four methods were used for recruiting: (a) Personal contact by going to a local district club in Groningen where Turkish women come together and chat on Sundays, b) snowball method, c) telephone directory method, d) personal contact within the framework of VET (Voorlichting in eigen taal and culture) project of GGD, Groningen.

I went to the club where Turkish women come together and administered a questionnaire to have an insight into their background and demographic information. Participation was quite promising and almost all of the women participated in the survey. The second and the most important part of the data collection process was to arrange house visits and to find some participants who would agree to host a group of friends, relatives and/or family members in their house. Understandably, women I met in the district club were quite reluctant to attend and arrange house visits. I could convince only a few women and they were not helpful at all in giving other women's names after having finished the interview. Secondly, I tried the telephone directory method where I checked all the Turkish

names in the telephone directory of Groningen and phoned them, introducing myself and explaining the aim of the study. I had a few contacts via this method as well. However I reached most of my subjects while I was working in the GGD Groningen VET project, where I had to go to arranged meetings in district clubs (Buurthuizen) to give a talk on health issues to Turkish women who could not speak Dutch. This was a perfect solution for my difficult search for participants. Mainly, I conducted my recordings with the women I met there.

The Ankara Group

I reached the participants of four sessions via a contact person who was working at a secondary school as a teacher in Dutluk, a slum area of Ankara. She announced my study in the class and asked the students coming from the families with a migration history to search for the possibility of a house arrangement. In this group, the snowball method also worked well when I asked the help of some friends and acquaintances in Ankara. One of them arranged one session and directed me to another woman who arranged another session with the women working in unqualified jobs. All were from rural areas and had come to Ankara to search for a job. Finally, I phoned one of my acquaintances living in another district of Ankara and I gave the profile of the women I was looking for. She arranged another meeting, with the largest group that I have in all my recordings. In Ankara everything went on so smoothly that I recorded all my groups in less than 10 days.

3.3.2 Description of Participants

Overview

The participants consisted of 53 Turkish women with little or no formal education. 27 of these women were immigrant Turkish women living in Groningen/The Netherlands. The rest of the respondents, consisting of 26 women with comparable characteristics, lived in the outskirts of Ankara/Turkey. Both groups had a migration history; while the Groningen group had immigrated to a Western European country from rural areas of central Anatolia, the Ankara group had migrated from the same regions to a metropolitan area of Turkey in search of work. Women in both groups were either housewives or blue-collar workers. All women, ranging in age from 23 to 77, had at least two children and were married, except two divorcees. All names used in data are aliases for protection of privacy.

The Groningen Group

This group consists of 27 Turkish women. 23 of them belonged to the first generation who arrived in the Netherlands at the age older than 12. The remaining four participants belonged to the intermediate generation who arrived in the Netherlands between the ages of five and 12 years (see Backus, 1996, for the definitions of generations). They were mainly less-educated women with low proficiency Dutch level. They were either working in unqualified jobs as cleaner, dish washer or kitchen worker, which require no Dutch, or were sitting at home as housewives. My questions about their daily life revealed the fact that they had a closely knit social network built up by family members, relatives and Turkish

friends. None of the women indicated a Dutch friend and/or neighbor whom they saw regularly. They were mostly young women grown up in Turkey until the age of nearly 18 and arrived in the Netherlands due to their marriage. All of them were married to Turkish men. As they always had contacts with the people they knew, they constituted a close community and were suspicious about newcomers even though they spoke the same language. They were depoliticized members of the small Turkish community with a rather liberal world view. They were not deeply religious, but conservative with respect to traditions. Five of the 27 women wore a head scarf.

The Ankara Group

The Ankara group consisted of 26 women with low level of education and no formal education. Four of the 26 women were illiterate. These women were from families who originally came from rural areas of Anatolia and settled in Ankara for economic reasons. A large majority of them were housewives living within a small network. They reported that they occasionally went to the city center to do their shopping. Their living area was confined with their house and close neighborhood. This group was mainly constituted by older, conservative women. 17 of them were wearing a head scarf. They regularly watched TV and visited each other in the form of social activity.

3.3.2.1 Individual Descriptions of the Participants

The Groningen Group

Emel arrived in the Netherlands with her family when she was a young girl. Emel attended secondary level Dutch school and spoke Dutch fluently. She got married to a Turkish man living in Turkey and brought her husband to the Netherlands.

İpek came to the Netherlands in her twenties due to her marriage. She had a quite fluent Turkish and relatively good Dutch. She was a close relative of Emel.

Demet came to the Netherlands after her marriage. She was a very talkative and assertive woman eager to talk on every topic. She was the main source of teasing in the group interaction.

Damla was the youngest participant in her group. As she had children immediately after coming to the Netherlands, she couldn't attend to a Dutch course regularly. Hence, her Dutch was poor compared to the other women.

Saniye was a businesswoman running her own shop. She was very fluent in Dutch, as she had come to Holland in her childhood and had an education in Dutch schools. However, she had poor Turkish. She got married to one of her close relatives in Turkey and brought him to the Netherlands.

Gülderen came to Holland in her thirties. Since she previously lived and worked for a while in a big city, she was a rather self-confident and assertive person. Due to her poor Dutch, she occasionally worked as a cleaner on part time basis.

Melda arrived in the Netherlands during their childhood with her family, but she did not continue her education. She married to one of her relatives at a very young age. She was a housewife with three children.

Hilal came to the Netherlands at the same age with Melda. She had attended a Dutch vocational school. At the time of the interview she was working in a government office.

İffet came to the Netherlands due to her marriage. She was working as a part time cleaner. Since İffet was speaking with a lower tone and almost whispering during her talk on sensitive topics, I had difficulties in transcribing her talk. Interrupting others and conversations with someone else while a speaker had the floor were the main characteristic of her style of interaction.

Tennur came to the Netherlands due to their marriage. She was Şengül's younger sister. As she had recently given birth at the time of interview, she talked much on child delivery.

Nehir came to the Netherlands due to her marriage at a very young age. As she had children immediately one after the other, she couldn't attend a Dutch course regularly. However, she was a social, helpful self-educated person who developed her Dutch with her own effort and will.

Feride arrived earlier as a young girl with her family. She did not attend to a Dutch school and got married to one of her relatives. Feride had divorced her husband after a few years of marriage and was living as a single mother with her children. She had a relatively good level of Dutch, allowing her to manage their daily activities such as shopping, going to the doctor etc. independently.

Şengül arrived in the Netherlands due to her marriage at a very young age. She previously worked at different unqualified jobs, but she was a housewife at the time of interview.

Dilek came to the Netherlands after her marriage. She was a housewife with a poor command of Dutch. She was talkative and joyful.

Tuba's reason to come to the Netherlands was again her marriage. She had grown up in a small village in Turkey. She was a quiet and passive speaker who was not very eager to talk.

Nevin was a factory worker, who arrived in the Netherlands with her family when she was a young girl. She was fluent in Dutch. She had a leader role in this group.

Aynur was a housewife who came to the Netherlands with her family. She neither attended a Dutch school nor worked somewhere. Hence, she had a low proficiency of Dutch, which did not allow her to go to the doctor's or a government office alone.

Fidan was an uneducated housewife grown up in a small village in Turkey. Due to her marriage she came to the Netherlands. Her poor Dutch caused her to have limited contacts with Dutch society.

Elvan arrived in the Netherlands at a very young age because of her marriage. In her talk she continuously underlined the difficulty of living in the Netherlands with a low level of Dutch.

Zarife started to live in the Netherlands due to her marriage. As she had grown up in a big city, she was a rather assertive person in the group with her brave and honest statements during the interview.

Perinaz arrived in the Netherlands due to her marriage. She was a talkative, friendly woman who had grown up in a small village. Dutch language was again her main problem to have an access into social life. While she had worked several

unqualified jobs in her first years in the Netherlands, she was a housewife staying home due to health reasons at the time of interview.

Zekiye started to live in the Netherlands as a result of her marriage when she was very young. She could not work and attend a Dutch course as she had children and a serious illness in her first years in the Netherlands. She was a single mother dealing with her children.

Hale came to the Netherlands after her marriage with an immigrant Turkish man working in the Netherlands. She had grown up in a rural area where she finished primary school and got married at a very young age. Soon after her marriage she became pregnant and had a mentally retarded baby. That child hampered her to get involved in social life and learn the Dutch language properly. She was a housewife taking care of her children.

Kıymet was a young housewife with three kids. She arrived in the Netherlands as a result of her marriage. She was a religious, conservative person speaking with indirect expressions and implicatures.

Hediye came to the Netherlands as a result of her marriage. She had attended a secondary school in Turkey and got married at a very early age, though she wanted to have higher education. Due to her poor level of Dutch and low education level, she was working as a cleaner.

Kader arrived in the Netherlands after her marriage at a very young age. She was working in the kitchen of a hospital in the city.

Hülya was brought to the Netherlands by her family when she was a young girl. She was not working at the time of interview, though she had a diploma from a vocational Dutch school.

The Ankara Group

Dildar was a silent housewife living with her mother-in-law. She was from a rural area of central Anatolia.

Saadet was an old woman who was born, had grown up and lived most of her life in a small village in central Anatolia. She was an illiterate, old widow who was incapable of living in the difficult conditions of a village life. Hence, she was staying at her son's house.

Pervin was Dildar's neighbor and close friend. She was the mother of two children and wife of an unemployed technician.

Şeyma got married and came to Ankara at a very young age. She was a close relative and a neighbor of Inci. Şeyma had some complains about the macho behavior of her husband. She wanted a more balanced marriage life in terms of equal rights and freedom.

İnci was Şeyma's sister-in-law, a young woman with two young children. She had a happy family life.

İmdat was living with her three children alone as her husband was working abroad. She was very religious and tended to express her world view rather implicitly and indirectly through conversational implicatures and contextualization cues.

Güler was İmdat's young neighbor, a mother of two young children. She was hesitant to talk during the interview.

Hesna was also İmdat's neighbor, an old, illiterate woman coming from a rural area of Central Anatolia. At first she was reluctant to talk and had many doubts about the reasons why I was interested in her talk, considering that she was only an illiterate, ordinary woman. However, she later disclosed very private information about her life.

Gülay had secondary school education. She was living in the same apartment building with Serin, Sinem, Hüsniye and Deniz.

Sinem was Deniz's daughter-in-law. She was living together with her mother-in-law who seemed to be the absolute authority in the family life. She was a silent, traditional young woman who respected her mother-in-law and followed her rules.

Serin was working in a government office at a low position. She was the only working woman in her group. She was very self-controlled and tried to speak as little as she could.

Figen was an old woman with an educated husband. She was an assertive woman having an opinion on almost everything.

Hüsniye was an illiterate, but self-educated and open-minded person. She mentioned that she liked educated people and appreciated them. She honestly shared secret parts of her private life mentioning that she had never spoken about them with others.

Deniz was Sinem's mother-in-law, a very authoritative woman. Having listened to the aim of my research and the reason for recording women, she gave approval to her young daughter-in-law for talking.

Tijen was a middle-aged woman coming from Central Anatolia. She was a cheerful speaker who was telling different anecdotes and making jokes on others. She was also making fun of herself as she talked about her past in a humorous manner.

Beyaz was an old widow living alone in the same apartment building with Tijen, Pamuk, and Güldane. She was very eager to talk on every topic.

Pamuk was an old woman who did not like to talk much. She basically answered the question directed to her, but did not give her opinions in group discussions.

Güldane was a middle-aged woman who directly mentioned that she did not want to talk on sensitive topics. In this sense, she was the only participant who directly refused to talk on delicate topics.

Neval was a cleaner going to different houses for cleaning daily. She was a mother of three children.

Lerzan was Neval's neighbor. She was a housewife with two children. She was very assertive and had an authoritative role in her group.

Fadime was an illiterate, old housewife with many gynecological problems. She was very ashamed about talking on sensitive topics at the beginning, but as her friends talked, she joined the discussions and became one of the talkative women.

Suzan was a middle-aged baby-sitter who had grown up in a rural area of Central Anatolia.

Belma was a middle-aged cleaner who wanted to talk rather than listening to others. Most of the talk was overlapped in this interview as she talked with another participant while a speaker got the floor.

Aydan was a silent, but self-confident housewife who insisted on her points. She was a neighbor of Belma, Saime and Nazlı.

Saime was a young woman, a mother of two young children. She displayed a silent, calm personality during the interview.

Nazlı was a middle-aged baby-sitter. She was from a rural area of central Anatolia. She frankly shared her secrets with other women during the interview.

Table 2 and table 3 below provide a general view of demographic information about the participants in terms of age, education, occupation and generation they belong to with respect their group.

Table 2
Demographics of the Groningen group

Name	Age	Education	Occupation	Generation
Emel	37	Middle Grade	Housewife	Intermediate Gen.
İpek	28	Middle Grade	Housewife	First Gen.
Demet	33	Middle Grade	Housewife	First Gen.
Damla	30	Middle Grade	Housewife	First Gen.
Saniye	26	Middle Grade	Shop owner	Intermediate Gen.
Gülderen	35	Middle Grade	Housewife	First Gen.
Melda	41	Primary Grade	Housewife	First Gen.
Hilal	42	Middle Grade	Worker	Intermediate Gen.
İffet	38	Primary Grade	Cleaner	First Gen.
Tennur	32	Middle Grade	Housewife	First Gen.
Nehir	30	Primary Grade	Housewife	First Gen.
Feride	42	Primary Grade	Housewife	First Gen.
Sengül	40	Primary Grade	Housewife	First Gen.
Dilek	42	Primary Grade	Housewife	First Gen.
Tuba	34	Primary Grade	Housewife	First Gen.
Nevin	34	Primary Grade	Factory worker	First Gen.
Aynur	35	Primary Grade	Housewife	First Gen.
Fidan	37	Primary Grade	Housewife	First Gen.
Elvan	30	Primary Grade	Housewife	First Gen.
Zarife	39	Middle Grade	Housewife	First Gen.
Perinaz	43	Primary Grade	Housewife	First Gen.
Zekiye	33	Primary Grade	Housewife	First Gen.
Hale	37	Primary Grade	Housewife	First Gen.
Kıymet	34	Primary Grade	Housewife	First Gen.
Hediye	42	Middle Grade	Cleaner	First Gen.
Kader	36	Primary Grade	Kitchen worker	First Gen.
Hülya	27	Middle Grade	Housewife	Intermediate Gen.

Table 3
Demographics of the Ankara group

Name	Age	Education	Occupation
Dildar	32	Primary Grade	Housewife
Saadet	64	Illiterate	Housewife
Pervin	34	Primary Grade	Housewife
Şeyma	32	Primary Grade	Housewife
İnci	23	Primary Grade	Housewife
İmdat	38	Primary Grade	Housewife
Güler	27	Middle Grade	Housewife
Hesna	43	Illiterate	Housewife
Gülay	44	Middle Grade	Housewife
Sinem	26	Middle Grade	Housewife
Serin	39	Middle Grade	Worker
Figen	56	Middle Grade	Housewife
Hüsnüye	60	Illiterate	Housewife
Deniz	53	Primary Grade	Housewife
Tijen	51	Primary Grade	Housewife
Beyaz	77	Primary Grade	Housewife
Pamuk	67	Primary Grade	Housewife
Güldane	43	Primary Grade	Housewife
Neval	38	Primary Grade	Cleaner
Lerzan	39	Middle Grade	Housewife
Fadime	51	Illiterate	Housewife
Suzan	38	Primary Grade	Baby sitter
Belma	38	Primary Grade	Cleaner
Aydan	34	Primary Grade	Baby sitter
Saime	28	Primary Grade	Cleaner
Nazlı	38	Primary Grade	Baby sitter

3.4 The TWIST (Turkish Women's Interviews on Sexual and Health Topics) Corpus

TWIST (Turkish Women's Interviews on Sexual and Health Topics) Corpus consisted of 14 in-depth interviews involving 53 Turkish women with little or no formal education. The interviews were recorded in 7 different homes in Groningen, The Netherlands and 7 different homes in Ankara, Turkey, during arranged house visits. The name TWIST is used for the corpus of transcribed audio-recordings resulting from those interviews.

3.4.1 Descriptions of the Sessions

The Groningen Group

The corpus in Groningen consists of seven interviews. Each session will be described with respect to the informants that were present, the place and the

progress of the interviews and some extra information revealing the interactive patterns.

Session 1

There were four young women (Emel, İpek, Demet and Damla) in this group. The session was organized by Emel and was conducted in her house. All the group members were low educated housewives having a relatively active social life. However, their social network was restricted to the Turkish community.

Session 2

This group consisted of two women (Saniye and Gülderen) who were close friends. Although this session was arranged by Gülderen, and the interview was supposed to be conducted in her house, it was relocated to Saniye's place due to Saniye's busy schedule. As Saniye had been living in the Netherlands since she was a young girl, she had poor Turkish. For that reason, this group frequently used code-switching.

Session 3

This group consisted of three women (Melda, Hilal and İffet). My contact person was Melda and she gathered her friends in her place. Prior to the recording session, there was a long discussion on marriage and marriage conditions of Turkish youngsters in the Turkish community as Melda's daughter had previously become engaged. That's why she directed the discussion to this issue again and again.

Session 4

Four women (Tennur, Nehir, Feride and Şengül) formed this group. The session was arranged by Tennur and conducted in her house. Tennur, Şengül and Feride were close relatives. The main characteristic of this group was the women's openness in talking about delicate topics. It was one of the longest recordings that I had as women talked and discussed the sexuality with each other candidly.

Session 5

There were six women (Dilek, Tuba, Nevin, Aynur, Fidan, Elvan) in this group. The session was organized by Nevin whose house was the meeting place. Dilek and Nevin were relatives and the rest of the group was Nevin's acquaintances, close friends and neighbors. Due to large size of the group, it was sometimes difficult to understand the talk as the participants were frequently overlapping and displayed more interactive alignment with the group than with me. There was a striking rivalry and tension among some of the members of the group evidenced by the correction of words or statements and questioning the validity of the others' words.

Session 6

This group consisted of six women (Zarife, Perinaz, Zekiye, Hale, Kıymet, Hediye). Considering the large size of the group, I was faced with the same technical problems. The talks were overlapping with each other, participants were

speaking at the same time, or continuously interrupting others. This group had frequent contacts with each other, however it was socially and physically remote from the Turkish community. Immense social pressure and enormous flow of information were common characteristics of this group.

Session 7

There were originally five women (Kader, Hülya, Ayten, Aysel and Havva) in this group, but I had to remove the data from Ayten, Aysel and Havva, as they were not present through out the whole session. This situation was a result of participants' freedom of movement in their own place, allowing women to drift around and to be absent in some parts of the interview. During the recording, the house was overcrowded. In addition to my participants, there were men sitting in another room and many children playing around. These three women (young brides) were continuously serving tea and food to us and to the men in the other room and taking care of the children. Hence, they could not answer my questions on delicate issues.

The Ankara Group

The corpus in Ankara consists of seven interviews. Each session will be described in terms of the informants that were present, the place and the progress of the interviews and some extra information revealing the interactive patterns. The first four groups were arranged by the same contact person. She arranged her students' mothers to participate in my research.

Session 1

This group was made up of three women (Dildar, Saadet and Pervin). The interview took place in Pervin's house. Probably because the interview was conducted in front of her mother-in-law, Pervin was not very talkative, she was even introvert. She was ashamed while talking about delicate topics such as birth control and nuptial night.

Session 2

This group consisted of two young women, two sister-in-laws (Şeyma and İnci) living in the different flats of same building. Şeyma was the host in the interview process. They also indicated a closely knit network with their relatives, but not the people out side the family.

Session 3

İmdat, Güler and Hesna constituted the third group. İmdat arranged this meeting by gathering her neighbors. All the participants in this group stated that they were confined to the domestic sphere and unaware of the public life. Although Hesna firstly resisted talking in front of the tape-recorder, she was later convinced by my explanations and talked a lot.

Session 4

There were six women in the group (Gülay, Sinem, Serin, Figen, Hüsniye and Deniz) from different backgrounds. The meeting was arranged by one of my

old acquaintances, Gülay, and the interview was conducted in her house. She gathered a group of women living in the same apartment building. They indicated having strong relationships with the family, friends and neighbors.

Session 5

This group with the oldest age range consisted of four women (Tijen, Beyaz, Pamuk and Güldane). Pamuk had the host role. They were neighbors living in the same apartment building for years. Güldane who lived in Germany for a short time openly refused to answer the questions on sensitive topics.

Session 6

There were four women in this group, namely Neval, Lerzan, Fadime and Suzan. The group meeting was arranged by Suzan, but it took place in Neval's house as Suzan had some visitors in her house at the time of interview. Lerzan was leading others by trying to give a direction to their talk. I sometimes had to warn her not to force others to speak on delicate topics.

Session 7

This group consisted of four women (Belma, Aydan, Saime and Nazlı). This arrangement was coordinated by Nazlı and the meeting took place in her place. They were happy that they could earn their own money and liked to be with their family members and relatives in their off days.

3.4.2 Quantitative Description of the TWIST Corpus

TWIST comprises 16 hours of recorded speech. However, there were three speakers whose talk was not taken into consideration due to the methodological reasons explained in section 3.4.1. Thus, in total there were about 94106 words analyzed in the corpus. The following table provides an overview with respect to number of sessions, number of speakers participated in each session and range in minutes.

Table 4
Twist structure

Number of speakers involved	Number of sessions	Range (in minutes)
2	3	40-52
3	3	30-80
4	5	40-110
6	3	70-114

TWIST was annotated for innocuous and sensitive topics. The Groningen group produced 28090 words in innocuous and 28643 in sensitive topics respectively. The speakers in the Ankara group articulated 19053 words in

innocuous and 18320 in sensitive topics. The following table gives the number of words per person with respect to innocuous and sensitive topics:

Table 5
Number of words articulated per person with respect to innocuous and sensitive topics in the Groningen group.

Name	Words in Innocuous Topics	Words in Sensitive Topics.
Emel	991	941
İpek	1386	1269
Demet	2176	2935
Damla	840	540
Saniye	1265	2629
Güleren	1387	1370
Melda	1292	1713
Hilal	885	793
İffet	1407	1936
Tennur	1684	1088
Nehir	875	2544
Feride	1559	929
Şengül	1156	1451
Dilek	1153	246
Tuba	611	109
Nevin	653	398
Aynur	362	663
Fidan	859	212
Elvan	556	108
Zarife	1010	1675
Perinaz	2172	510
Zekiye	512	1835
Hale	999	1298
Kıymet	189	627
Hediye	347	469
Kader	1153	246
Hülya	611	109
TOTAL	28090	28643

Table 6
Number of words articulated per person with respect to innocuous and sensitive topics in the Ankara group.

Name	Words in Innocuous Topics	Words in Sensitive Topics
Dildar	555	773
Saadet	324	118
Pervin	254	212
Şeyma	850	1040
İnci	438	929
İmdat	962	1324
Güler	437	344
Hesna	682	862
Gülay	266	374
Sinem	428	594
Serin	629	336
Figen	533	394
Hüsnüye	436	763
Deniz	175	213
Tijen	622	686
Beyaz	1147	1059
Pamuk	468	227
Güldane	191	139
Neval	533	589
Lerzan	2238	2076
Fadime	1219	746
Suzan	1236	1171
Belma	1607	983
Aydan	1444	1254
Saime	808	539
Nazlı	571	575
TOTAL	19053	18320

3.5 Data Analysis Method

The content of in-depth interviews, and personal notes and recordings were considered as data in the analysis. I personally transcribed all the interviews verbatim and this provided me an early exposure to the data and helped familiarize me with the events, narratives and the participants. The analysis was guided by both qualitative and quantitative data analysis techniques through the theoretical lenses of politeness theory, the notion of “face”, and impression management theory.

First, the transcripts were read several times. Themes and concepts were determined through the repeated readings of the data. A list consisting of common themes and ideas recurring in the data was made. Some situations were realized as specifically important in determining what type of language was most appropriate as interactants adjusted their speech styles to fit the purpose of an interaction to establish the most suitable image on listeners.

Linguistic self-presentation and mitigation of facework in the designed critical situation was considered the main theme with four interrelated sub-themes. While the notion of humor as the first sub-theme covers all types of self-presentation style, defensive, protective and assertive self-presentation and mitigative facework strategies were analyzed along the following sub-themes: evasiveness and depersonalization, indirectness and vagueness, and sincerity respectively.

As the linguistic reflections of these themes were detected in the data, preliminary interpretations of findings were shared with several Turkish native speaker linguists by e-mail. I also applied two reliability tests to test the validity of my personal intuition about linguistic items.

An elaborate analysis of forms and functions in the context of sensitive and innocuous topics is the core focus of the study. In sensitive topics, face concerns are expected to be stronger than in innocuous topics. Due to the possibility that the pragmatic performance of Turkish women living in immigrant setting (Groningen group) may have been affected by Western and more liberal Dutch culture, the effect of sensitive contexts is expected to be pronounced especially in more conservative Ankara group. In addition to qualitative methods such as narratives and in depth interviews which are better suited in the exploration of meanings, experiences and processes in people's life, a number of quantitative analyses were conducted in order to reflect the systematic language choice of the respondents during face management strategies. For the statistical analyses of sessions and groups respectively, the Wilcoxon test and the Mann-Whitney U test were used.

4 Humor as Self-Presentation Device

4.1 Introduction

This chapter explores humor as a linguistic face-management maneuver used within the construction of self-presentation strategies. In doing so, I attempt to analyze speaker-oriented spontaneous humor occurring in informal talk among friends by questioning the reasons of this use in the light of different self-presentation styles taxonomized by Schütz (1998). Humor and laughter have attracted the attention of scholars from a wide range of discipline for ages. In many cultures, humor is used to create relationships, express emotions, and control negative feelings. Humor in conversation often goes with difficult topics. As Crawford states (2003:1420) “socially unspeakable can more readily enter the discourse, because the ambiguity of the humor mode allows them to be talked about in disguised and deniable form”. When speakers have to talk about personal or stigmatized topics (i.e. birth control, sex life, menstruation, first sex experience etc.), such taboo and sensitive topics can cause awkwardness and embarrassment and humor can be one mechanism available to help them manage face-threatening situations. Humor can also be utilized to develop social and conversational cohesion and solidarity. What is more, it allows individuals to show off their joyful personality, to handle the conversation smoothly and playfully, and/or provides an avoidance base or a battle zone in cases of self-directed humor and teasing respectively.

Although BL (1987) treat humor as a relatively simple matter of positive politeness, my analysis highlights the complexities of joking behavior and its self-presentational functions in terms of speaker-oriented facework. I will show that politeness theory can provide an interpretive framework to explain the use of humor in hearer-oriented facework strategies but that the analysis is incomplete without taking account of the aspect of speaker-oriented negative and positive politeness strategies. In other words, multiple functions of humor can be alternatively explained in terms of multiple personal goals in a speaker-oriented approach.

The outline of the chapter is as follows. The second section describes social functions of humor. The third section explains the humor as a communicative strategy with respect to gender. The fourth section clarifies the notion of politeness

in humor usage and demonstrates the possibilities of positive and negative politeness in humor performance. The fifth section provides a detailed explanation of assertive, offensive, defensive and protective styles of self-presentation strategies in the form of humor. The sixth section discusses styles of self-presentation in humor usage with respect to reasons and consequences of a particular choice.

4.2 Interactional Aspect of Humor

Humor includes anything that is to be perceived as funny, amusing or laughable. Since every joke requires both a teller and an audience, humor is considered to be an essentially social phenomenon. For this reason, definitions generally rely on interactional aspects by considering either the actor's intent or the audience response to identify humor. Norrick (1993), Kotthoff (1996) and Boxer and Cortes-Conde (1997) make a basic distinction between 'joke-telling' and 'conversational humor'. While the former is considered as a delineated speech event with its own internal organization/specific generic qualities (e.g. a punch line), the latter is taken as a catch-all term for various kinds of verbal 'playing'. Conversational humor can further be broken down into various other categorizations: For instance Boxer and Cortes-Conde (1997) focus on teasing (i.e., where someone present is the object of fun), joking about absent others and self-denigration. Norrick (1993) concentrates on anecdotes, joint narratives, word play, mocking, sarcasm and teasing. Reviewing the theories about why people engage in humor would allow us to grasp the dynamics of conversational joking. With respect to self-presentation strategies, Boxer and Cortes-Conde (1997) make a further distinction between humour which functions as identity display and that which does relational work. Teasing and joking about others have a primarily relational function, whereas joking about oneself is a matter of self-presentation. Generally, it is assumed that humor as a rapport-building strategy is inclusive and based on shared experience. Joking about an absent other is a good example of it. Mocking, sarcasm and teasing are often regarded as aggressive because they are non-inclusive.

Humor has an important social role and function as an index of language and conversational strategies employed to achieve a range of identity and relational effects. It is commonly recognized to have stress-reducing benefits. Taking humor as tension reducer, puts forward that laughter is a method of venting nervous energy. Bethea et al. (2002) show that humor is a useful communication tool for caregivers of elderly people to release nervous energy during interview and caregiving events. Similarly, Robinson et al. (2001) studied how humor operates as a tension releaser in task-oriented group discussions. Thus, humor helps interactants maintain smooth relations by serving as a stress reducer in critical situations.

Humor is taken as an index to implicit social realities as well. It provides us a tool to touch taboo, sensitive issues of a community. It is generally employed with fragile topics, which can not be talked about comfortably. Flathery (1990) suggests that this is a mechanism for defining reality in such a way that it serves as "reality play" by teasing or toying with reality. Wilson (1979:228) put forward that "reality defined by most humor is fiercely conservative". Accordingly, amusement helps us to affirm our conventional views of the world. Heath and Blonder (2003) report that

humor, as a way to talk about disabilities, is a subtle and pervasive element in the conversation of stroke survivors. Speakers signal their intent as they attempt a shift to the humor mode. Once speakers agree that they are engaging in humorous interaction, critical topics can be converted into the humor mode without lasting consequences.

Another version of the meaning-making function is the proposal that joking determines interaction hierarchies by arguing that joking creates status differentiation among interactants. Some of these perspectives (Coser, 1959, 1960) view humor as a socially acceptable form of hierarchy building and/or indirect aggression by stressing its hostile content. Crawford (2003) argues that joking about those in power such as politicians or rich and famous people vents feelings and questions the justice of hierarchy without causing undesirable consequences.

In addition, humor is considered as a device for the development of social cohesion. Francis (1994) and Vinton (1989) argue that humor can be seen as an interpersonal emotion management technique to create and strengthen the relationship in the form of an equalizer and harmonizer in the cases of criticism without causing anger and demoralizing the team in task group interaction. For Wilson (1979) the social functions of humor include easing friction, reducing anxiety, expressing ridicule without repercussions and releasing aggression of minorities. However, he also puts emphasis on the social control function of humor in labeling the deviant behavior as laughable and thus in enforcing conformity through fear of being laughed at. In a recent study, Holmes and Marra (2002) reports cohesive aspect of humor cementing highly solidarity relationships in factory meetings. Multiple goals in humor usage will be discussed in section 4 concerning BL's politeness theory.

4.3 Gender and Humor

A common generalization that women lack a sense of humor and have less potential in producing humor as compared to men, appears to be one of the most long-lasting speech stereotypes. Robin Lakoff, in describing female speech style, argues that women "have no sense of humor" (1975:56). In other words, they are far from meeting a standard in terms of both "telling" jokes and "getting" jokes. Hence, understanding of gender differences in humor was firstly based on a deficiency model. Historically, studies in the social science appear to have reinforced this stereotype either by neglecting gender as the central focus of humor research or by drawing biased conclusions in favor of males, after choosing to study only all-male groups (Crawford 1995).

The issue of humor shifted from the deficiency model to the two-culture model by focusing on different preferences for conversational goals. Jenkins (1985) proposes that men's and women's humor can be expected to serve different functions. Women's humor supports a greater intimacy by being supportive and regulating, whereas men's humor reinforces competition and power. The differences in preference of joke content are also focused on by researchers (Lampert and Ervin-Tripp, 1998). Women are found to engage with less aggressive, less sexual, and more neutral jokes than men. As it comes to the target of humor, women are defined to be the "butt" of jokes both by men and women. According to

Thaler (1990), gender stereotypes present women as passive, noncompetitive, subordinate, dependent, illogical, indecisive, family centered, users of prestigious language and men as active, aggressive, competitive, dominant, independent, logical, self-centered and users of banal language. These stereotypes are the main source of humor in comic strips. Ziv (1981) has also shown that men are more creative. They are, in addition, more familiar with jokes, and they have a larger repertoire and enjoy joke telling more than women do. In contrast, women initiate less humor and score higher on humor appreciation. Crawford and Gressley (1991) report that men evaluate their own sense of humor more positively than women. They also report that when asked to write about someone who has an outstanding sense of humor, the majority of both male and female subjects give a male example. Within the framework of the two-culture model, different studies have been conducted in single-sex friendship groups. Hay (2001) for instance analyzes conversational humor in same- and mixed-gender groups of friends in New Zealand reporting that women employ funny personal stories to create solidarity. Having conducted a long-term study of the talk of women friends with a large corpus, Coates (1996) states that conversations among women provide a collaborative floor for being friend.

However, another group of researchers supported the fact that progress in the perception of the gender roles has begun to narrow the gap between male and female humor responses. According to the “egalitarian hypothesis” offered by Carroll (1989) and Vitulli and Barbin (1991), members of both genders prefer jokes that target members of the opposite gender. Crawford and Gressley (1991) report that women and men are similar in their self-reported humor use and that both sexes generally appear to value creative spontaneity and the ability to make fun of oneself. Moreover, Lampert and Ervin-Trip’s study (1998) on both gender and ethnicity effects on humor in naturally occurring data reveal that women and men use similar kinds of humor, but the form of humor is context dependent. For instance Lampert and Ervin-Trip (1998) report that women employ self-mockery among their same-sex friends, but avoid it in mixed-gender groups. Women and men employ different forms of humor in same-sex and mixed-sex settings as one of the means of gender construction. Women not only develop group identity but also social solidarity in humor usage. In contrast, men rarely use self-directed humor among their male friends.

4.4 Humor and Politeness

Humor is a highly relational message and therefore invites examination in the light of BL’s politeness theory, where ‘joke’ is considered to be a positive politeness strategy which is part of a sub-strategy of ‘claiming common ground’. In BL’s words, “since jokes are based on mutual shared background knowledge and values, jokes may be used to stress that shared background or those shared values... Joking is a technique for putting hearer at ease” (1987:124). However, various researchers are critical about BL’s frame by mentioning their doubts about the assumption that ‘aggressive’ forms of joking, such as teasing, build solidarity by flouting politeness conventions. For instance Zajdman (1995) suggests joking as a positive politeness strategy is an oversimplification, as he finds that *FTAs* can also

be committed by jokes through on-record (unredressed) or off-record strategies. In a similar vein, Kotthoff (1996) is also critical of the politeness model by underlining that politeness theory fails to consider the ability of humor to have a distancing function. She emphasizes therefore, that while humor clearly affirms familiarity, it is also a way of being impolite.

BL (1987:228-9) do in fact take into consideration the humorous use of insults (bald-on-record face threats), claiming that these have a constructive role to play within the interaction:

“Jokes may be used as an exploitation of politeness strategies as well, in attempts to redefine the size of the FTA...In trying to re-rank D, S may take advantage of the relationship between on-record strategies and intimacy, which is that in intimate relations there may be presumed to be minimal danger of face-threats. This gives rise to the use of bald-on-record insults or jokes as a way of asserting such intimacy”.

What is neglected in humor management is the fact that speakers' need to save their own face also has a bearing in their linguistic behavior. In other words, a joke can be a personal investment to attain interpersonal goals in the form of self-promotion, a verbal play that puts the speaker herself at the center of the joke, an escape from self-disclosure or an attempt at domination to establish an authoritative image on others. It will become clear from data presented in this chapter that joking is a *jointly* constructed phenomenon, involving multiple purposes and both speaker's and hearer's face wants. The data provide a good example of how relationships are negotiated via the discourse in order to manage both personal face concerns and interactional goals. As it will be illustrated below, joking behavior can have different relational effects depending on local contextual factors such as who initiates the play frame for which purposes, for whose face this joke is invested. For instance, by making the following conversational joke in the form of an offer, while pouring tea into glasses,¹

“*Sen o bir bardakla sevişip duruyon hani*” (i.e. *başka çay içmiyor musun?*)

You are still making love to the same glass. (i.e. won't you drink any more tea?)

a speaker would

- (i) attend to the hearer's positive face by making an offer showing that s/he thinks of the hearer,
- (ii) attack the hearer's positive face, when first part of the offer is considered to be a tease, a playful nip about the hearer who has been holding her glass in her hand for a long time without drinking any tea,
- (iii) attack the hearer's negative face by reducing his/her autonomy through controlling his/her behaviors (i.e. holding the glass in her hand for a long time or not).

¹ Tea is drunk from special small glasses in Turkish culture.

- (iv) consolidate his/her own positive face showing off his/her enjoyable, humorous character.

Such an offer both presents *FTAs* to the hearer's negative and positive face and serves as an investment to the speaker's positive face. On the surface, an attempt was made towards positive politeness conventions by making an offer about pouring tea. However, it is an overstatement to say that this humorous offer is performed only for the sake of the speaker's positive face concerns. Instead of making a conventional offer like "would you like to have some more tea?" the speaker both brings humor into the conversation and provides cohesion in making an offer since the actual topic of conversation is also "sexuality". Taking into consideration the multiple concerns in humor construction, it is my purpose in this chapter to explore to what extent humor usage can provide a suitable frame to establish speaker-oriented desired self-presentation depending on the context.

4.5 Humorous Self-Presentation Tactics in TWIST

Many scholars have attempted to catalogue some functions of humor mainly in the sense of different social functions and settings (Ziv, 1984; Ervin-Tripp and Lampert, 1992; Hay, 2000; Meyer, 1997; Boxer and Cortes-Conde, 1997; Kotthoff, 2000; Holmes and Marra, 2002, among others). Personal concerns and the internal and external reasons forcing speakers to tell jokes or engage in joking behavior are simply neglected. Thus, no existing description of the function of humor was deemed to be suitable for personal and social concerns.

Key functions of humor emphasized in this study include promoting self-identification and avoidance strategies. Different face strategies can be employed to tailor positive self-presentation by providing conversational cohesion, contextual and noncontextual self-promotion. Humor can also be employed with the purpose of avoidance in the form of reframing an undesirable event, behavior or involvement, modest self-description as a precaution of failure, and a linguistic maneuver in evading critical questions.

In this chapter Schütz's (1998) taxonomy of self-presentation will be applied in order to trace the self-presentational behavior in humor usage. Styles of self-presentation are divided into the four groups of; defensive, protective, assertive and offensive (see Chapter 2). As illustrated in Figure 1, assertive and offensive self-presentations are active tactics for attaining a positive image, whereas defensive and protective self-presentations are passive tactics mainly used for avoidance strategies. Humor is observed in the form of contextual and noncontextual self-promotion in assertive self-presentation. Domination or insulting others is seen in the form of teasing in offensive self-presentation. Humor within the framework of defensive self-presentation refers to reframing a critical situation in a humorous sense. Avoiding conveyance of negative impression is accomplished through self-mockery and humor usage in equivocal communication for minimal self-disclosure in protective self-presentation.

Active	Assertive self-presentation -Contextual self-promotion -Noncontextual self-promotion	Offensive self-presentation -Teasing
Passive	Defensive self-presentation -Reframing	Protective self-presentation -Self-mockery -Minimal self-disclosure

Figure 1. Taxonomy of humor with reference to styles of self-presentation.

4.5.1 Assertive Self-Presentation

(Trying to Look Good by Presenting a Favorable Image)

Assertive self-presentation involves active, but not aggressive efforts to establish positive impressions. Individuals performing assertive self-presentation try to create positive images by presenting themselves as likable personalities. People can resort to direct and indirect strategies to present their personalities and merits to establish positive impressions. Firstly, they can directly describe their assets or abilities, for instance saying “I am a joyful, easy-going person with a sense of humor”. Alternatively, verbal performance and conversational mood can also inform the hearers about the speaker’s qualities and achievements. In this respect, humor has a key role in promoting positive identifications. Whitehead and Smith (1999) analyze self-presentational strategies of modern and traditional presidents by considering their statements in which they seek an attribution of likeability. Possession of humor is one of their criteria for positive self-presentation. Self-promotion can be divided into contextual and noncontextual self-promotion with respect to immediate and wider social context of interaction respectively.

4.5.1.1 Contextual Self-Promotion

Speakers can contribute to conversation simply to establish an enjoyable and funny image during the course of interaction by making spontaneous jokes. Thus, they uphold their positive impression by trying to be admired for their performance of joyfulness and creating a positive atmosphere within the immediate context. For instance:

Context: Near the beginning of the interview. Speakers are talking about birth control and their children in terms of number of children and their sex etc. (B=Belma, S=Suzan, Int=Interviewer))

- (1) B: *Üçü isteyerek oldu da obürleri şey kaçıntı oldu.*
 <Gülüşmeler>
 S: *Kaza!*
 Int: *Ne oldu? Ne oldu?*
 B: *Kaçıntı oldu.*
 <Gülüşmeler>
 Int: *Kaçıntı?*
 B: *Hep korunurken oldu.*
 S: *Durun bari ben de bi kaçıntı çay getireyim.*
 <Gülüşmeler>
- B: Three of them were planned, the others were, well, sneakage.
 <Laughter>
 S: An accident!
 Int: What? They were what?
 B: Sneakage²
 <Laughter>
 Int: Sneakage?
 B: I got pregnant while I was using contraceptives.
 S: Hey let me make you a sneaky service of tea!
 <Laughter>

This example includes two different humor cases. B has five children and she mentions that her last two children were not planned. She creates a word “*kaçıntı*”, an original metaphor that does not exist in Turkish. She adds the nominal suffix *-IntI* to the verb stem *-kaç* (to escape, to run away) to allude to the sperms passing into her body without her control or approval. In addition to B, speaker S firstly contributes to the conversation by calling B’s sneakage an accident, which is a stock metaphor for unwanted pregnancies. S also jokes spontaneously as a host who is seeking a break to serve tea for her guests. So, by her statement “making a sneaky service of tea”, she not only creates a pleasant atmosphere, but also displays her intention to comfort her guests, both of which contribute to her positive self-presentation.

Through contextual self-promotion speakers may also present themselves by joking to show their highly developed communication skills. A humorous anecdote/story suggests to the hearers that the speaker is good at performing outstanding verbal skills and spontaneous creativity during his talk. Anecdotes ended with an evaluation turn the talk into a smooth, clear cut and coherent performance. Thus, the speaker achieves a positive self-presentation in terms of her verbal proficiency. The following is an example of Turkish woman endorsing her speech with a humorous anecdote.

² “Kaçıntı” is not a standard Turkish word. For that reason, I tried to create the same impression in English and created a nonstandard word denoting a similar meaning in this language.

Context: The speaker talks about the awkwardness of her husband during her delivery. (N=Nazlı, Int=Interviewer)

- (2) N: *E beni doğum sancım geldi, gecenin biri, arife günü. Ondan sonra, E.'ye hamileyim işte doğuracam, N'i görümceme gönderiyom. N gitmiş bi çukura düşmüş.*
 <Gülüşmeler>
 Int: *Hay Allahım!*
 N: *Neyse ordan debel dubel çıkmış, görümceyi almış geri geliyomuş, demiş abi bu halin ne? Yahu demiş sorma demiş şurda çuhur varmış ona düştüm. Çuhuru bi de, kocaa çuhur*
 Int: *Adamcağız telaşlı telaşlı*
 N: *Dünden doktor diyo ya, kadınlar bir doğurur, erkekler dokuz doğurur. O hesap, erkekler dokuz doğuruyo yani.*
- N: Uhm my labor pains started. It was one o'clock early in the morning and the day before Bayram. You know I was pregnant with E. and I would give birth. I sent N. to my sister-in-law. And N. had fallen down a hole on his way.
 <Laughter>
 Int: Oh my God!
 N: Anyway, he managed to get out of it with great effort and took my sister-in-law. On the way back to home, my sister-in-law asked him what happened to you? Oh, don't ask about it he said. There was a hole here and I fell into it. You should have seen it. Such a big hole!
 Int: The poor man must have been in a hurry.
 N: So, yesterday the doctor was saying the same thing; while women give birth to one child, men give birth to nine! I mean, they really suffer greatly.

Speaker N would like to state that men also suffer from stress during the delivery of a child. She first tells a humorous story about her husband's adventure while she was giving birth her first child, and ends her speech with an idiom "*dokuz doğurmak*" (to have suffered greatly) which provides the concluding remark and underlines the main idea of her story. This frame of conversation makes her talk more understandable, clear-cut and enjoyable, and represents positive self-presentation.

Contextual self-promotion can also be considered within the framework of social coherence. It has a function of uniting interactants not only in laughter, but also in construction of humor. Participation in humor displays joint production of it in which meaning is co-constructed. Participants are appreciated as much as they contribute to humor construction. Consider the following example:

Context: The interviewer talks about a new method for diagnosing gynecologic cancer types. This method requires no gynecological examination, but an analysis of a few hairs from the genital organ. (Int=Interviewer, N=Nevin, D=Dilek, T=Tuba, A=Aynur)

- (3) *Int: Kıl daha farklı oluyormuş, kılın dokusu normal böyle bi rahatsızlığı olmayanlara göre.*
N: Hıhım.
Int: Yani, diyorlar ki herşey daha kolaylaşacak. Hic bacaklarını açıp da...
N: İnşallah.
D: O güzel işte.
T: Ne güzel bak.
D: E, zati aşşasının zorluğundan biz de gitmek istemiyoz.
T: O, o korkudan zaten gitmek istemiyo insan
A: Ben ona bi tane diyil iki üç tane...
<Gülüşmeler>
Int: Ne dediniz anlamadım?
A: Bi değil iki üç tane göndeririz diyorum.
<Gülüşmeler>
D: Bir zarfın içine koyup...
<Gülüşmeler>
- Int: The hair, the tissue of the hair is supposed to be different as compared to those who don't have cancer.*
N: Uhuhm.
Int: I mean they say everything will be easier. You don't have to open your legs wide ...
N: If God permits...
D: That's really nice.
T: What a nice idea!
D: Actually, due to our difficulties in [showing—N.K.Y.] the lower part, we don't want to go (to the doctor).
T: That, because of that fear, a person does not want to go.
A: I would send him not one but several
<Laughter>
Int: What did you say? I couldn't understand.
A: I say: we would send him not one but several.
<Laughter>
D: Just by putting in an envelope....
<Laughter>

This example stresses the social effect of humor where laughter and jokes have a “choral” function which nurtures group solidarity. Collaborative humor further enhances cohesion within the group. In the example above, when the interviewer talks about a new scientific development that she read in an article, the interactants try to see the funny aspects of this event altogether by adapting the situation to themselves. Interestingly, they all produce a joint production of humor by contributing conversation with humorous statement. This attempt of interactants can be regarded as a collective treatment of potentially embarrassing topics. However, as we consider individual reasons prompting people to make jokes, this

suggests that speakers can depict a positive image in terms of their social capacity, namely, for being agreeable, adaptive, friendly, cooperative and creative in the name of joint production of humor within the group.

4.5.1.2 *Noncontextual Self-Promotion*

“Modest self-description conforms to politeness norms and to normative expectations for social conduct in various situations” (Schütz, 1998: 175). Modesty, in Turkish culture, is essential in articulating one’s achievements and positive attributions. After good performances or achievements, people are expected to make modest self-evaluations underlining the other’s contributions as well. Humor can also function as a trivializing device in formulating one’s success, achievements or merits modestly. Thus, in a humorous sense, they cannot only tailor a positive impression, but also meet the normative expectations of the community. An example from the corpus illustrates:

Context: The speaker tells the story of her marriage.
(P=Perinaz, Int=Interviewer, H=Hale)

- (4) P: 15 gün içinde izini geldi. Hemen 15 gün içinde evlendik burıya geldik.
Int: Anladım, anladım. Ehm ama bi şeyiniz olmadı o zaman karşılıklı görüşme etme falan gibi.
P: Yo, bazı ehm sabah kalktıymıydı bizim orıya kahvaltı etmeye gelirdi. Bizim babamın balları sütleri çoğudu (Güler)
<Gülüşmeler>
H: Bala süte mi geliyordu?
<Gülüşmeler/Kahkalar>
- P: He came to Turkey for 15 days. Within these 15 days, we got married and came here.
Int: I see, I see. Well, you couldn’t have the chance of uhm of seeing each other etc.
P: No. Sometimes uhm, he used to come to us to have breakfast, as he got up. We, my father had lots of dairy products, honey (laughing)
<Laughter>
H: Was he coming for the dairy products and honey?
<Laughter>

P apparently does not want to mention that her fiancé was coming to breakfast to see her. Being ashamed, she implies that A, her fiancé was coming for the richness of their breakfast table, especially with respect to dairy products, honey etc. Listeners, however, are not convinced by this explanation. “Only for dairy products and honey?” asks one of the listeners and initiates laughter. In Turkish culture, modesty dictates to never praising yourself directly, but rather letting others praise you. For instance, if I got a high mark, I say that “I was just lucky”, so that others can say how good I was; if I cooked a meal that was truly delicious, I would

insist that it was not very good, so that others can reassure me of how good it was. Conversational humor is another means of understatement by which people give the impression that their accomplishment was an accident or they do not take it seriously.

When we consider BL's notion of politeness, contextual and noncontextual self-promotion in humor use can be considered as an effort for the speaker's positive face concern to generate feelings of familiarity and friendship in communication and to portray a friendly and joyful character.

4.5.2 Offensive Self-Presentation

(Trying to Look Good by Making Others Look Bad)

"Offensive self-presentation is an aggressive way of establishing a desired image" (Schütz, 1998:613). People employ offensive self-presentation by using domination or insulting others in order to present themselves positively. Attacking others and presenting themselves as superior are the main methods to convey desired impressions. If a speaker wants to damage the face of a hearer and chooses to do it indirectly, s/he must give him/her some hints and hope that the hearer correctly interprets what the speaker implies.

4.5.2.1 Teasing

The object of an attack could possibly be an utterance in which a person has negatively evaluated the subject. By attacking the source's competency or credibility, actors can manage to look superior to observers. Teasing, at this point, can be employed to underline the shortcomings and/or foibles of other parties. Boxer and Cortes-Conde (1997:279) state that "teasing runs along a continuum of bonding to nipping to biting". However, boundaries for teasing are not very clear. This may cause tension, because interactants are never sure about the way an interaction may swing. In my examples, teasing and shaming are interrelated in terms of conveying a particular affective message about the target, his/her family, peers and community, as shown in the following example;

Context: Nuptial night.

(F=Fadime, L=Lerzan, Int=interviewer, S=Suzan)

- (5) [...]

F: *Bi şey olmadı işte ne konuşayım? İşte aynı bunun dediği gibi.*

 <Gülüşmeler>

S: *Aynı bunun dediği gibi diyo.*

 <Gülüşmeler>

S: *Ay, teyze çok alemsin.*

 [...]

S: *Gel şurıya iki dakika daha! Ben telefon ederim A. Amca'ya gel!*

Int: *Dur, sey, bi dakika söylesin de kadın gitsin. Siz de şey yaptınız.*

S: *A.bekliyo beni diyo.*

Int: *Hadi güle güle görüşmek üzere. Sağolun, teşekkür ederim.*

- L: *Demek bizim gibi oldu ha? Seninkini farklı zannetmiştik biz!*
 <Gülüşmeler>
- [...]
- F: Nothing happened. What should I say? Everything was the same as she said.
 <Laughter>
- S: She said “everything was the same as she said”!
 <Laughter>
- S: Oh, my auntie! You are so funny!
 [...]
- S: Come here for only two minutes! I will phone uncle A, come on!
- Int: Hey, stop it! Uhm, let her speak for a few minutes. You’ve made her uhm irritated.
- S: She said “A is waiting for me”.
- Int: So, goodbye, see you later. Thank you very much indeed.
- L: So, everything was the same as ours, heh? We thought that yours was different!!
 <Laughter>

The present example contains two acts of teasing by speaker S and speaker L respectively. F, an elderly interactant, does not want to speak about her nuptial night at all. She does not feel comfortable and tries to leave the place with the excuse that her husband A was waiting for her. Understanding her uneasiness and efforts not to participate in this conversation, other younger speakers force her to speak by teasing her about her evasive answers. Speaker S leads a teasing process by repeating F’s evasive short statement about her nuptial night. She does not make a direct comment on F’s words but admonishes her by restating it in the form of a reported speech with mimics and gestures to signal that teasing is taking place. In this way, speaker S implies that what F is saying is funny and ridiculous, stressing the nonserious nature of the commentary and calling for laughter. Ironical utterances can also be considered as forms of teasing when they are directed at other parties as a commentary in response to interpersonal conflict. For instance, L uses a playful off-record marker, an ironical expression by saying “we thought that yours was different”. This utterance allows L to express her comments and attitude towards F indirectly.

As an aggressive type of self-presentation, teasing allows speakers to attain positive self-presentation by making others look bad. In the example above, both S and L’s attempts can be interpreted as efforts to establish a positive impression by performing the best for the sake of the interview and to get the approval of the interviewer. Through teasing, they try to present themselves as helpful by working for the smoothness of the conversation, cheerful by speaking playfully and humorously, alert by being aware of what F thinks, active by interfering with the conversation, assertive by determining who will speak when, what, on which topic. This interpretation, however, apparently conflicts with Keltner et al.’s (2001) prediction that more frequent and hostile teasers should be those individuals who feel little concern for their own or others’ face. Teasing can be especially harmful

and painful when it is interrelated with shaming in terms of conveying a particular affective message about the target, his/her family, peers and community. It may include positive self-presentation concerns of the speakers built on humiliation and/or demeaning of others as in the following example:

Context: Nuptial night.
(H=Hale, Int=Interviewer, P=Perinaz)

- (6) H: *İşte, konuştuk baya. Sonra işimiz oldu*
Int: *Hıhım.*
H: *Sonra bende kanama durmadı.*
Int: *Hıhım.*
H: *Ehm şey, rahim ağzı yırtılmış mı neyse işte!*
P: *Yırtmış yani!*
<Gülüşmeler>
- H: We spoke a lot and then we did our duty.
Int: Uhuhm.
H: Then, the bleeding didn't stop.
Int: Uhuhm.
H: Ehm, well, my womb had been torn or whatever!
P: So, he tore it did he!
<Laughter>

Speaker H does not want to mention the details about her nuptial night. Apparently, she is not sure what was wrong with her and she is not eager to reveal the fact about her personal life as she says “*yırtılmış mı neyse işte!*” (my womb had been torn or whatever!) The fact that her husband was very harsh with her that night and it was a bad experience indeed for a 14-year-old girl was implied and given indirectly in her narration. However, P teases her, and indirectly her husband, by explaining the event explicitly.

Boxer and Cortes-Conde (1997) state that with humor in the absence of other party and parties, both joker and hearers unite in a clear bond. In Turkish culture where relatedness is emphasized, this case may not be as simple as suggested by Boxer and Cortes-Conde. Since traditional Turkish women generally define themselves in terms of their wider social contacts (i.e. family, spouse, relatives), rather than their own self, they may not easily tolerate such attempts and participate in joking. Such challenges would rather result in dispute and conflicts. The following example illustrates a conflict beginning as a joke:

Context: Living abroad
(İ=İmdat, H=Hesna, Int=interviewer)

- (7) İ: *Beyim geziyo böyle. Çok diyo, oraların yaşantısına çoh imreniyo yani. Hepsinin diyo altında diyo arabası var diyo. Oranın yaşantısıyla buranın yaşantısı bi başka diyo.*
H: *Seni buriya attı şimdi dodağa boyalı kızlarnan geziyo!*

<Gülüşmeler>

İ: *Asla asla gezmez! Beyimin önüne*

H: *İşte para kazanıyo diyorun*

İ: *Beyimin önüne 99 tane dünya güzeli kadını getirselers, dünyada bahmaz.*

H: *Heç belli olmaz. Arada şeytan var*

İ: *Onun günahını sevabını bilir ki...*

H: *Bilsin şeytan var arada.*

İ: *Cıh, şeytana meytana inanmaz. Onu şeytan yoramaz! Asla nevsine uyan bi adam değildir öyle*

Int: *Karşılıklı öyle güven olduktan sonra...*

İ: My husband travels a lot. I mean, he admires the living standards there [Germany—N.K.Y.] Everyone he says, has he says, a car he says. There are great differences between here and there he says.

H: He left you here and now, he is enjoying his life there with the girls coloring their lips with rouge!

<Laughter>

İ: He would never, never do that. Even if...

H: You said he is earning well

İ: If you showed him 99 of the most beautiful girls in the world, he would never even look at them.

H: Don't be so sure. You have to reckon with the devil.

İ: He knows the sin and the merit of it.

H: Yes, but you have to reckon with the devil.

İ: No, he isn't spoiled by the devil etc. The devil can't corrupt him! He always controls his passions.

Int: As long as there is mutual trust...

Speaker İ is talking about her husband who went to Germany to work as an Imam. She is living alone in Ankara with her three children and can afford the live on with the money that her husband sends from Germany. It is obvious from the other parts of the interview that İ is really proud of her husband, she talks about him with love and respect, as he is an educated man. Speaker H, who is not at good terms with her own husband, would like to warn her that she shouldn't trust him/men at all in any way. She expresses her opinion indirectly with teasing, in the form of a joke. Being ashamed and feeling humiliated, İ cannot tolerate it and defends her husband. She does not like this joke and does not cooperate with speaker H against her husband because the image she wants to create is not a separate and autonomous one. On the contrary, she defines herself in relation to her husband, his success and achievements. Thus, in contrast to Boxer and Cortes-Conde's (1997) argument a biting joke, about an absent person ends with a clash, but not a unity. The interviewer tries to compromise and cool down the parties at the end of the example.

Considering BL's frame we can say that offensive self-presentation is an aggressive attempt and an investment to the speaker's positive face rising above the humor performed at the expense of hearer's positive face.

4.5.3 Defensive Self-Presentation

(Trying to not to Look Bad by Fighting off Negative Typifications)

Defensive self-presentation could be employed to minimize the damage that has been done after desired entities have been threatened or damaged (Tedeschi and Lindskold, 1976; Tedeschi and Norman, 1985). People resort to defensive tactics to reduce the negative impact of the events in situations in which their performance or the events they are involved in have the potential of leading to undesired impressions on others. Schütz (1998) uses four questions to understand to which extent an actor's image is threatened: Did the event take place at all? Is the event to be evaluated negatively? Did the person in question cause the event? Could the actor have reacted differently? Usually a person involved in a bad event will try to soften the facts and try to supply as little negative information about herself as she can.

Recent studies have begun to examine language use in the case of predicaments of how to describe undesirable behaviors. Schütz and Baumeister (1999) analyze how defensive motivations would affect patterns of language use by comparing personal narratives of personal transgressions (about hurting someone) versus narratives on making someone happy. Transgression narratives are found to be more likely to describe actions occurring without deliberate guidance or intention as compared to narratives on happiness. The transgressions have longer introductions and reflect the emotions and thoughts of the narrator. Similarly, Schmid and Fiedler (1996) analyze prosecutors' and defense attorneys' concluding speeches in the Nuremberg war crimes trials. They emphasize the differences between the speakers in that defense attorneys used a higher level of abstraction and avoided direct attributions when the negative attributes and events of defendants were a matter of concern.

Some questions, when posed in a public context, may present threats to self-esteem for respondents. In an effort to avoid these negative circumstances, respondents will develop some linguistic tactics stemming from these psychological reasons. At this point, humor, as an option, serves to displace the tension associated with the critical situation, that is, to ease the atmosphere when a speaker touches on an especially sensitive topic.

4.5.3.1 *Reframing*

Although people show a keen interest in talking about another's mistakes, misdeeds and shortcomings, they usually do not want to talk about their own. However, sometimes some revelations are so inevitable that people must confront the problem of how to describe an undesirable event. In a reframing situation, a person admits that a certain event has happened but argues that it should not be taken in a negative way. The main statement is "It was different" or "It was not bad". The speaker may attempt to reveal only as much information as is necessary about his faults. In other words, actors attempt directly to minimize the negativity of the event. The event is described as "less (or not at all) harmful, untoward, bad,

costly, important, improper, meaningful, significant, offensive, or whatever, than it might appear from a worst-case reading” (Schlenker, 1980:144). Skillful actors can easily transform a potentially undesirable event from something negative into something positive. Humor can be one of the main tactics used in minimizing the negativity of the event. Through the humor, “negative experiences can be narratively presented in such a way that real relations are reversed in the humorous anecdote” (Kotthoff, 2000:58). The delicate topics lose their stigma and get lighter as they are humorously presented.

In traditional Turkish society, honor and respect are so highly gendered that women and men enact them in different ways and different domains of life. For women, fertility and motherhood are the central loci in which to play out the code of honorable self. Fertility, the key of motherhood and social respect, a guarantee of reproduction, continuity of the family name, is a prerequisite of being a respected, honorable woman. Thus, infertility is generally regarded as a shortcoming, an implication of incapacity of a woman. For these reasons, even though many women see the doctor for reasons of infertility, they usually deny it or in case of a self-disclosure, they pretend to be unaffected by the situation through reframing the case in a sense of humor.

Context: Infertility. The speaker talks about her experience of having treatment to have a baby. She formulates the story with metaphoric statements, which turn a sad topic into a humorous one. (D=Dilek, Nevin=N, T=Tuba))

(8) [...]

D: *Ondan sonra, bak dedi, sana söyleyeyim dedi, bu kadar adet düzensizliği dedi, senin vücudun çocuk istiyi dedi. Yani, tren kaçıyo kızım dedi.*

T: *Ehh, öyle.*

D: *Bu arada çocuk sahibi ya oldun, ya olmadın. Sonra dedi, 4 sene sonra sen istediğin zaman*

N: *Olmaz*

D: *Sana yumurtalıkların “hayır” diyebilir dedi. İşte bu hapları-doğum kontrol hapi verdi, bunları kullanacaksın dedi. Biraz düzenlensin adetlerin falan.*

N: *Hımm.*

D: *Ondan sonra da dedi size ev ödevi veriyorum dedi.*

<Gülüşmeler>

N: *Zorla çocuk sahibi!!!*

D: *Değil mi? Ama inanmayacaksınız o zaman kadar hani çocukları çok severim ama, hep sanki atıyordum. Yani, daha sonra diye...Çok önemli oldu böyle birdenbire çocuk sahibi olmak. Dedim ki ben de “Aa çocuk sahibi olamıycam, bu çok önemli bir şey. Olamazsam ne olur falan.*

N: *Tabi, tabi.*

D: *Ay, biz yemedik, içmedik. Atiti, patiti, (ellerini ileri geri hareket ettirir) inanmıycaksınız..*

<Gülüşmeler>

- D: *Böyle iki ayın sonunda ben doktora telefon açtım. Çok da tatlı bir beydir. Doktor Bey müjde ben hamileyim dedim. Aferin dedi adam.*
 <Gülüşmeler>
- T: *İyi çalıştınız, not vermiş.*
- D: *Evet, e yani şimdi düşünüyorum, çok komik tabi.*
 <Gülüşmeler>

[...]

- D: Then he said “listen to me. I must tell you that this irregularity in your periods shows that your body wants a baby”. I mean he said “you are missing the train, my girl”.
- T: Well, that’s true.
- D: “During this time, you could have a chance to have a baby or not. Otherwise” he said, “in four years time if you want to have a baby”,
- N: It might not happen.
- D: “Your ovaries could say ‘No’ to you” he said. Then, he said “You will use these pills—he prescribed contraceptives—and “let’s regulate your periods etc”.
- N: Uhuhm.
- D: Then, he said, “ I will give you homework” he said.
 <Laughter>
- N: Having a child compulsorily!!!!
- D: Isn’t it so? But believe it or not, I had been postponing it until that event, though I like children a lot. I mean saying later, later...Then it became very important to have a child. I started to say I won’t be able to have a baby, it is very important for me. What would happen if I could not etc.
- N: Sure, sure
- D: Well, we didn’t eat and drink, but we did only choo choo choo, choo oo (Moving her hands back and forth) you may not believe...At the end of the two months, I called the doctor and said Doctor, I am pregnant. He is a really nice guy. Doctor, good news; I am pregnant I said. “Well done” he said.
 <Laughter>
- T: You worked very hard and he gave you a good mark!
- D: Well, I find it quite funny, when I think about it now.
 <Laughter>

In this example, the narrator talks about the cure for her infertility in a humorous way. Humor in this case is used both to introduce sensitive personal issues into a conversation and to keep the atmosphere lighthearted. She sometimes uses metaphors and onomatopoeic words in a euphemistic way to imply that “it was not that bad”. By stating that “we didn’t eat and drink, but only choo choo choo, choooo.... You may not believe this³”, she constructs an analogy between a train engine making rhythmic noises and sexual intercourse of a couple creating

³ Onomatopoeic features of this example will be further analyzed in Chapter 6.

both auditory and visual imagery as she moves her arms back and forth. “Missing the train”, “giving homework” are other figurative expressions which soften the case and create a funny narrative.

The second point to be made is that in this context, humor functions to affirm the speaker’s easy-going attitude toward this event. Being infertile and having treatment because of this shortcoming is humiliating enough in these speakers’ community. The speaker was eager to share her experience, but her choices to express it in a funny way to underline the fact that everything was in the past and it does not hurt her anymore, witness her statement “Well, I find it quite funny, when I think about it now”.

On BL’s politeness account defensive self-presentation is a counterattack to move away from negative typification as a result of a threat. Hence, it can be considered as a restoration of an image, an attempt for territory claims and self-determination in the form of negative politeness.

4.5.4 Protective Self-Presentation

(Trying not to look bad by avoiding conveyance of negative impressions)

“One’s goal in life is to function effectively, adopting action patterns that maximize rewards and minimize costs” (Schlenker, 1980:89). Beyond simply trying to look good, a person can also control actions and other’s attitudes towards him in different ways. People engaged in protective self-presentation often avoid situations that can potentially create embarrassing or humiliating situations and thus relinquish certain opportunities to convey favorable impressions. Although the main goal of self-presentation has been described as creating desired impressions, protective behavior aims at less (see Chapter 2). In other words, the person does not try to look good or favorable, but simply not to look bad by understating his qualities in modest self-descriptions. The fundamental goal is not to establish desired impressions, but to avoid damage to established or assumed social identities.

As compared to defensive self-presentation, protective self-presentation does not contain active efforts to reestablish desirable entities such positive representations, motives, and traits. Speakers rather reduce standards and describe themselves modestly and use self-effacing attributions. The behavioral pattern of protective self-presentation is made up of passive efforts at avoiding negative impressions.

4.5.4.1 *Humor in the Form of Self-Mockery*

Self-mockery or self-denigrating humor consists of any play activity that makes the speaker the center of the verbal playing. The speaker and the referent are identical and a joke is initiated by the speaker himself. When people portray themselves in their activities as foolish, inept or deficient in some respect, they usually employ humor. Ziv (1984:111) describes the following strategy of self-mockery:

“One message of self-disparaging humor to the enemy could...run something like this: You don’t have to attack me and damage my honor-I’ll do it myself (and even better than you)-In addition the enemy’s laugh may discharge his hostility, so that he does not use his weapon. It is better to look scared, miserly and foolish, and to stay alive, than it is to die”.

Studies have shown that women more often make jokes at their own expense than men (Ervin-Trip and Lampert 1992; Kotthoff, 2000; Crawford, 1995). This fact can be traced from different socialization of gender roles, which encourages powerless, subordinate behavior of women. According to Zajdman (1995), self-directed humor gives a “circular message”. Making use of humor directed against him/herself, a person implies that “I am weak, I admit it, but to admit means to be strong, so I am strong”. If the hearer believes that self-mockery exposes the speaker’s weakness, then the speaker puts his/her positive face in danger. However, if the inferiority presented by the speaker is taken as a message of superiority for being able to publicly uncover his/her own weaknesses and foibles, then it becomes an enormous strategic advantage serving the positive face of the speaker. Self-mockery can partly fall under the rubric of protective self-presentation, as shown in the following example.

Context: G is talking about her lack of information on sex, having a baby and giving birth to a baby. She explicitly confesses her unfamiliarity with these issues by telling a humorous anecdote. (P=Perinaz, H=Hediye, Z=Zarife)

- (9) P: *Ben ehm bi şey desem; şimdi H.’ın, şimdi babam gibi oldum dedi, şimdi gülersiniz. Ben hamile oldum, çocuk doğucak, benim görümceme dedim ki yani gülmeyin bu çocuk nerden doğucak dedim ben. Evlendim daha bilmeyom yani bak!*
- Z: *Doğru.*
- P: *Ehm ondan sona bu çocuk nerden doğucak H. Abla dedim.*
- H: *Him.*
- P: *Kimi dedim ehm köy yerinde vay bilmem ehm şunun şurasından çıkamı bah deyo, kimi şurasından çıkamı bah deyo. H. Ablam da dedi yani afedersin nerden girdiyse ordan çıkıcak dedi.*
- <Gülüşmeler>*
- P: *Ben bilmiyodum yani nerden çıkıcenı.*
- H: *Girdiginde sen uyuyodun heralda!*
- P: *Ne biliyim ben nerden geldi! (Gülerek) Bilmiyodum yani.*
- P: I uhm, if I said something, as H said “I became like my father”, you would laugh at me. I got pregnant. The child was about to be born. I asked my sister-in-law—but don’t laugh—where this child is coming from. See! I got married, but I still knew nothing!
- Z: That’s right.
- P: Then uhm I asked sister H where this child is going to come from.
- H: Uhuhm.

- P: I said someone, in our village, says denoting another “look at him coming from this part of his mother”, or another says “coming from that part of his mother”. Then, sister H said;—I mean sorry to say it—“It will get out of the place it got in”!
<Laughter>
- P: I mean, I didn’t know where the baby would get out.
H: You may have been sleeping when the baby got inside you!
G: I had no idea where it came from (Laughing). I really didn’t know it.

By complaining about her intellectual shortcoming with regard to maternity and sex life, the speaker displays self-effacy and allows the addressees to perceive her as modest. She also ironically prepares others for a humorous anecdote saying “don’t laugh” or “but, you shouldn’t laugh”. Such modest self-descriptions can lead to being a target of teasing by others (Schütz, 1998). Her insecurity is so obvious that others are prompted to tease her saying “You may have been sleeping when the baby got inside you”.

Modest self-presentation can also create a more credible image on others. A person candidly acknowledging weaknesses may appear more frank and honest. Norrick (1993) investigates the traces of positive self-presentation in the use of self-mockery. He states that

“Funny personal anecdotes end up presenting a positive self-image rather than a negative one. [...] They present a self with an ability to laugh at problems and overcome then-again an admirable character trait. So apparently self-effacing personal anecdotes rebound to conversational rapport and positive face for the teller in several face at once (1993:47).

Speakers may provide a common ground between the hearers and themselves and allow the hearers to perceive them as approachable and intimate by putting forward their own physical, emotional and/or intellectual shortcomings. Consider the following example:

Context: First experience of menstruation. (T=Tennur, N=Nehir, Int=Interviewer)

- (10) T: *Ben zaten büyük ablalarım olduğu için onlardan da görüyodum, annemden de. Hiç anlatmadılar ama, biliyodum yani ne olduğunu. Uzaktan yani, uzaktan takip ediyodum onları.*
<Gülüşmeler>
- T: *Bezleri falan ne kullanıyorlar onları da biliyom, ben onları başladım kullanmaya, ta ki onlar bi kaç sonra haberleri oldu yani, ben devam ediyodum. Ki onu da yani yiharken falan yahalattıh*
<Gülüşmeler>
- Int: *Kendi işini kendin hallettin yani.*

- T: *Him. Ben şimdi kendim hallettim. Hatta bi keresinde de tam ablamın düğünü oluyo. Düğün anında oldum. Bez falan aradım, hiç bi şey bulamadım. Seye çıktım, evin çatısına, gaste parçaları goydum.*
<Gülüşmeler>
- N: *Ay, yazık!*
- Int: *Ay ilahi!*
- T: *Daha yenidiydim de o zaman e, anneme dediydim sonra, e bana niye demedin diyo. E, dedim sen dedim, niye sormuyon ben o yaşa gelmişim. Yani niye hiç şey yapmıyon!*
- T: Since I have got elder sisters, I used to observe it from them and my mother as well. They never told me, but I knew what it was. I mean I observed them secretly.
<Laughter>
- T: They used to use pads etc. I knew them too. I started to use them by myself till they learnt later. I mean I had been using pads and was caught while I was washing them.
<Laughter>
- Int: So, you coped with the matter by yourself.
- T: Yeah, I did it by myself. Even once, during the wedding ceremony of my sister, I got my period just at the time of the wedding ceremony. I looked for pads etc., but couldn't find anything. I went to uhm the attic and put some pieces of old newspapers.
<Laughter>
- N: Oh! What a pity!
- Int: Oh! My dear!
- T: I was inexperienced in those times. When I told it my mum later, she asked why I didn't tell her. Well I said then why didn't you ask when I reached puberty. I mean, why didn't you do anything?

Speaker T honestly shares her story and mentions her inexperience candidly. Her attempt to share her innocence and lack of knowledge on menstruation in a humorous way creates a common ground and solidarity within the group, which is easily observed by the different reactions of the group members. A second point to be made from this story is that T self-confidently concludes her story by criticizing her mother with respect to her manner of child rearing and the way she was nurtured without emotional support. This reveals the fact that she is capable of questioning the events and their reasons or at least ponders upon them in the name of being a good mother for her own children. Moreover, she does not simply criticize herself for being immature or naïve on fundamental issues of femininity. She rather criticizes the circumstances, people around her who gave rise to this consequence. Thus, her narration helps her to present a self-assured, frank and intimate image in the eyes of others.

4.5.4.2 *Minimal Self-Disclosure: Humor as a Device of Equivocal Communication*⁴

Self-disclosure is defined as “information about oneself that is verbally communicated to others” (Holtgraves, 1990:192). In some cases, individuals may not be willing to share their personal states, dispositions, experiences of past and present, and plans for the future. In order to give the others little opportunity for criticizing, the cautious approach is to say as little as possible (Schütz 1998). Obeng (1997:54) describes evasive, equivocal communication as “involving circumvent or avoiding answering directly or avoiding facing up to real difficult or tricky communicative or discourse issues”. In our case, the Turkish women attempt to stand firm and get around sensitive topics by trying to at least superficially comply with the interview rules through the use of covert evasion and equivocation. A detailed analysis of evasive and equivocal communication will be discussed in the next chapter.

Humor can have a key role with respect to minimal self-disclosure in both trivializing and moving away from intimate topics. Thus, speakers resist revealing some facts about themselves and disclosing some internal state such as emotion, opinion, and so on. Rather than providing a clear, brief explanation, speakers may either indirectly hint at their emotional state, opinions or personal information through humor, or they may employ to diverge from the topic and causes conversation to deviate into different directions, preferably non-intimate topics as in the following example.

Context: All the women acknowledged that they were married by arrangement and they were not allowed to see their fiancé very often during their engagement. Knowing this fact, the interviewer asks how they could manage to have sex on the nuptial night with a person they had hardly seen or even did not know. (T=Tennur, Int=Interviewer)

- (11) T: *Yok, canım, 3 ay nişanlıyken gelip gitti yani. Tanıştık, konuştuk hep. E, benimkinin de yasaga vardı ama, abimgil olmadığı zaman gelirdi hep.]*
 Int: *Hıhım.*
 T: *Hatta bi keresinde gelmişti, abim vardı evde. Ondan sonra abim aldı bunu, kahvelerde bilmem nerelerde gezdirdi, gezdirdi. En son ehm artık D. gahvede abimi azıtmış, ondan sona eve gelmiş geri. Güllüşmeler*
 T: *De yani geliyordu, tanıştık 3 ayda da.*
 Int: *E, peki ilk geceye geri dönelim.*
 T: *İlk gecede normal geçti. İyi geçti yani.*

⁴ The phenomena of equivocal communication will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5. Here we will put emphasis only on humor use as an avoidance strategy leading to equivocal communication.

- T: No, not at all. I mean when we had been engaged for three months, He used to visit me. We got to know each other, spoke many times. Actually, he was forbidden to come, but he used to visit me when my elder brother wasn't at home.
- Int: Uhuhm
- T: Once he came to us and my elder brother was at home. Then, my brother brought him to café's. Finally, uhm D had got rid of my brother and came back to home
Laughter
- T: I mean he was coming to our house. We got to know each other within these three months.
- Int: Well, let's turn to the nuptial night.
- T: The first night was normal. I mean it was good.

T seemingly does not want to talk about her feelings, her negative experience about the nuptial night as she is talking about an entirely different topic. She denies that she rarely saw her husband and tries to move away from the topic by proudly telling a humorous story about her husband's eagerness to see her during their engagement. Her uneasiness in talking about the details of her nuptial night is clear from her short, but ambiguous answer. When the interviewer insists and asks to go back to the nuptial night topic saying "well, let's go back to the nuptial night", she gives a blurred answer "the first night was normal, I mean it was good" leaving the interpretation of "normal" and "good" to the hearers.

Minimal self-disclosure in the form of protective self-presentation is used to organize discourse in the way that humor evades the communication and helps interactants to move away from the undesirable topic. Consequently, minimal self-disclosure works for the negative face of the speaker.

4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I addressed the questions of how self-presentation strategies are implemented through humor in spontaneous discourse. The major aim of this chapter has been to give an insight into the multiple facework goals on the speaker's account in humor construction. Although BL provide a useful interpretive model, explanation of 'joking' behavior within their theory politeness does not fully take account of the dynamism of interaction. Their account in humor usage allows for hearer-oriented strategies but it cannot predict what would be the case in terms of the speaker who performs conversational jokes. We have also seen how the designation of joking as simply 'positive politeness' is to oversimplify the relational function of humor, when negative politeness cases were specified.

In discussing the style of self-presentation with respect to humor usage, I will go through the reasons and consequences of a particular choice. The women's use of assertive self-presentation in both topics could be taken as an indication that women are more affected by the normative expectations about interactional norms and femininity. The main concern of the participants is to present themselves as likable personalities, because in order for a woman to maintain her identity as a respected woman, she must choose expressions within socially expected women's

language and behavior patterns. Thus, the focus of facework shifts from other-oriented facework to self-oriented facework which is not included in BL's (1987) notion of face where issues of face aggravation and self-directed strategies are neglected, and face maintenance and mitigation to potential threat are focused.

Teasing was focused within the framework of offensive self-presentation which allowed speakers to attain positive self-presentation by making others look bad. By teasing, we ignore the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction of a person, and perform a threat to his/her negative face. The content of a teasing which covers mental and physical disfunctions, faults and foibles etc. is an attack to the positive face of the subject of the teasing as well. Offensive behavior in the form of conversational humor is also risky for the speaker. If the joke rising above criticism of others is accepted, then teasing could be considered to be an investment in the positive image of the speaker, whereas if inferiorizing others is criticized and is not found to be funny, teasing can immediately turn out to be an attack on the speaker's positive face.

The tendency to use protective self-presentation in humorous talk can be regarded as a common avoidance-based trend in critical topics. The Turkish women are strategic in choosing their self-presentation style according to different situational contexts. Humor is widely used as a form of evasion/equivocal communication in causing the topics to turn to different directions for minimal self-disclosure purposes. Evasion is one of the common tactics which the Turkish women employ to get rid of undesirable topics that may potentially harm or threaten their honor, reputation. The desire not to be imposed on by different critics and comments can be regarded as an effort to preserve the speaker's negative face. Detailed qualitative and quantitative analyses of evasive, equivocal communication will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Defensive self-presentation is specifically important when certain socially stigmatized events or behaviors are admitted or somehow revealed. Reframing through humor can be one of the main tactics used in minimizing the negativity of the event and in attaining a positive image in a risky situation. Since all these concerns should take into account not only the speaker herself, but also her wider range of contacts, culturally predetermined gender roles are immediately situated in the situations where women's sexuality, status and role in the family are questioned.

Although humor is universal, its specific content, resolution and as well as interpretation of humor are expected to vary according to social situations and cultural influences. Hence, rather than making claims about universal patterns of women's humor, self-presentation theory provides a broader frame for investigating speaker-oriented humor in spontaneous discourse. There is still a need to explore further characteristics of self-presentation strategies used in the form of humor in different contexts, different cultures and within male and mixed-sex groups separately.

5 Evasiveness and Depersonalization

5.1 Introduction

According to Webster's dictionary, evasiveness means "deliberate vagueness or ambiguity; failing to answer a question while trying to seem as though one is answering". It has been the focal point of substantial research literature in discourse and communication studies (Bavelas et al., 1985, 1990; Bull, 1994, 1998; Galasinski, 1996a, 1996b; Greatbatch, 1986; Harris, 1991; Heritage, 1985; Obeng, 1997 among others). Speakers may employ evasive communication as a result of the necessity to disclose sensitive topics to remedy critical situation driving from this necessity. This type of communication may emerge as a critical option, a socio-cultural necessity to continue the interaction in socially stigmatized topics smoothly. As a result, people may either move beyond the parameters of the questions by overtly acknowledging that they will deviate from the topic of interaction, or they may covertly signal that they are not going to engage in the conversation.

This chapter provides an overview of the dynamics of evading answers in terms of overt and covert practices, and some possible self-presentational consequences of these strategies in interpersonal relationships. After a comprehensive examination of the practices through which answers are constructed, depersonalization as an evasive strategy will be singled out to reveal how several levels of discourse work together to manage, sustain and create an impression on others.

Discreetness on culturally sanctioned topics is a major part of Turkish culture and social pressure is almost doubled if the speakers are female. Many proverbs and sayings such as *Baş yarılır fes içinde, kol kırılır yen içinde* (One's head is injured within one's cap; one's arm breaks inside one's sleeve), *Gizli çamaşırlarını açma* (Disclose not your secret linen), *Kazan üstü kapalı kaynar* (The cauldron boils with the lid on) underline that it is undesirable for people to reveal personal information in Turkish culture. Several studies (Bergmann, 1992; BL, 1987; Holtgraves, 1997; among others) show that taboo topics are avoided and handled evasively. Not surprisingly, Turkish women avoid direct, clear-cut statements and communicate evasively, as this mode of interaction is less risky and

socially more secure with respect to cultural and gender concerns. The finding of this dissertation cannot immediately be generalized beyond the cultural roots of the speakers involved, this is, a rural culture with little education. Duyan and Duyan (2005), however, present convincing evidence that Turkish people in general continue to hold traditional ideas about sexuality, and traditional codes and norms still prevail in all classes of the society. Their study of university students' attitudes towards sexuality reveals that sexuality is talked about only among close friends of the same sex in privacy. Speakers' privacy-protecting self-presentation behavior as the artifact of culture-specific normative expectations, affecting their discourse composition and style of interaction, can thus be seen in all layers of the society regardless of individuals' education and socio-economic background.

Prevailing analyses of self-presentation in evasive communication reveal that tactics of self-presentation vary along the dimensions of protective and defensive self-presentation. Defensive self-presentation aims at repairing potentially damaging self images in the form of overt justifications and resistance in undesirable negative situations. Protective self-presentation emerges in covert strategies designed to fit the appropriate circumstances and to leave the field with the least damage.

A micro-analysis of depersonalization—a covert evasive strategy evidenced by the use of pronouns *sen* (you), *biz* (we) and impersonal nominal references *insan/adam* (human/man) instead of *ben* (I)—will throw light on explicit views on representation of self and negotiation of social roles. Pronominal choices are important indicators of socio-cultural and gender orientation as they enable speakers to accomplish multifunctional interactional goals. The discursive functions of pronoun shifts express self-detachment, involvement or solidarity with topics and participants, diffusing responsibility. These goals can be identified in reference to self-directed goals and other-oriented facework. Self-directed goals are different pronominal forms other than *ben* employed as a result of protective and defensive self-presentation strategies (see Kansu-Yetkiner forthcoming b). Other-oriented facework, as it is discussed in BL (1987) (see Chapter 2), is performed for others' face wants through solidarity concerns, conventional indirectness or impersonalization of speaker and hearer by defocusing the agent.

After a review of the literature on evasiveness and the reasons for evasive communication of Turkish women, I will explain the main dimensions in the classification of evasive communication in the following section. I will present an analysis of evasive strategies in section 3. Section 4 will focus on depersonalization through pronominal shift. Section 5 concludes with a discussion of some implications and consequences of these studies.

5.2 Evasive Communication

The vast and growing literature on evasiveness has concentrated into two camps; question-focused studies and answer-focused studies. Question-focused studies can be classified into three groups (see Wilson, 1990). The logico-formal approach attempts to set the limits of formal and structural definition of questions. The focus of the functional approach is on the role of questions within various interaction situations. The third approach is the sequential approach, which argues

that what is and what is not a question is determined through the sequential placement of that form within the ongoing interaction. All these three perspectives have been applied to political discourse analysis (see Harris, 1991 (logico-formal), Bull and Mayer, 1988 (functional), Greatbatch, 1986 (sequential), Jucker, 1986 (logico formal/functional)).

This chapter concentrates on the answer-focused approach. However, drawing hard and fast lines around what is and what is not an evasive answer to a question is indeed not straightforward. Depending on context, interactants and group dynamics, definitions are broadened and narrowed, and the categorizations are changed in line with how evasion is defined and what it covers as a strategy.

Evasiveness phenomena within the framework of answer evasion are mainly discussed in the political discourse literature. Different perspectives ranging from implicitness and explicitness of the speakers in their evasive behavior, namely overt and covert evasiveness, agenda shifting procedures, to responses resisting the agenda of the questions are suggested. Bull and Mayer (1988:10) developed a typology of answer-focused strategies: ignoring the question asked, acknowledging the question without answering it, questioning the question, attacking the question, attacking the interviewer, apologizing, stating the question being asked has already been answered, declining to answer the question, repeating an answer to a previous question and giving an incomplete answer. Although this typology was later criticized by Wilson (1990) for having an intuitive approach and for providing no argument of any kind to indicate the structural or formal analysis of questions and responses, Bull & Mayer's typology opens the doors of the tactical strategies of speakers with respect to self-presentational goals. Harris (1991) later creates three broad categories of response attitudes in political discourse: direct answers, indirect answers, and challenges. She considers a response evasive if it includes (a) indirectness or (b) challenges. The studies conducted by Galasinski (1996a, 1996b) and Clayman (2001) distinguish "overt" and "covert" evasive strategies and introduce them as two alternative tactics of evasiveness. In overt evasion, the speakers directly signal that they are not going to give a cooperative answer, whereas in a covert evasion strategy they may pretend to answer the question, while answering a different one. Rather than working on the implicitness or explicitness of the speaker in their communication strategy, Greatbatch (1986) concentrates on interviewees' attempts to exert some degree of control over what they discuss through agenda shifting maneuvers. For Clayman (2001) evading questions covers practices through which interviewees manage responses that resist the agenda of the questions raised by an interviewer. For that reason, he employs "resistance" as an umbrella term to denote any reaction against the agenda of the question. In this study, the dynamics of evasion is employed to provide a valuable conceptual framework for highlighting "gendered" self-presentation styles in the analysis of talk on taboo topics triggering social anxiety.

Bavelas et al. (1988, 1990) provide a comprehensive frame which is helpful in describing what evasiveness covers as a strategy and how and why Turkish women could prefer to evade questions. According to the theory of equivocation devised by Bavelas and colleagues (1990) people tend to equivocate when they are faced with what Bavelas et al. call an "avoidance-avoidance" conflict, in which all

of the possible replies to a question are risky and have negative consequences, but a reply is still expected.

In a critical situation designed for this study, there are three main choices of interactional mode for Turkish women: acceptance of communication, rejection of communication, and disqualification. Considering the conformity to cultural interactional style which requires them to treat the interviewer cordially, Turkish women may agree to interact. If they continue interacting at a high level of involvement, damage to their present multiple identities (as a woman in the community, wife and mother in the family) and/or their past and future image may occur. Concerning the construction of gender in Turkish society, this option for Turkish women is too risky and dangerous. Hence, they do not agree on speaking straightforwardly (see the notion of face in the section on Turkish culture in Chapter 2).

As a second choice, physical withdrawal from the identity threatening circumstances can be a preferred course of interaction for Turkish women, since the speakers are then removed from the risky transaction. In other words, speakers can make explicit to the interviewer that they do not want to cooperate and leave the field. However, as discussed in Chapter 2, an open confrontation appears to be impossible when the respondents consider their status as a host who is culturally responsible for the entertainment of the guest (interviewer) invited to a respondent's own house to conduct an audio-taped conversation. If there is a rejection, respondents will not keep their promise. In other words, refusal will bring about a culturally improper mode of interaction that threatens the face wants of both sides. Schlenker and Leary (1985:181) put forward that "when people remain on the scene but evidence virtually no involvement, they run the risk of being regarded as aloof, snobbish, disinterested, socially inept and dull". Hence both reactions to these competing pressures—leaving the field and staying—silent are likely to be negative in terms of losing face, risking social reputation.

Disqualification as the third option of Turkish women refers to avoiding a clear style of any kind considering the negative consequences of a direct reply as they act in two roles as a host who should ponder the face wants of the guest and as a person who cannot risk her face wants and the honor associated with the notion of face. Hence, the conflict between the immediate context and larger social context represents an "avoidance-avoidance conflict" and causes women to find a midway, which is an evasive interactional style. Concerning this interactional framework, the main focus in this chapter will be upon responsive evasive strategies as a reaction to the necessity of disclosing on face-threatening questions in a situation designed to introduce an "avoidance-avoidance conflict".

5.3 Evasive Strategies in TWIST

In this section I will discuss my categorization of evasive strategies based on the literature and on what I encountered in TWIST. First, the process in which I went back and forth between the previous classifications in the literature and my data will be explained. In this process, after establishing the main categorization by following the dichotomy between overt and covert practices proposed in the literature, they were further divided into sub-categories considering the features of

TWIST. Second, the construction of a new broader categorization resulting from the difference between political interviews and the TWIST corpus in terms of different styles of self-presentation and facework strategies will be discussed.

To construct my categorization, the whole corpus was read again and again to identify the patterns of impression management and facework strategies performed in employment of these interactional styles. First of all questions posed to the respondents were highlighted to observe responsive strategies of the speakers. Then the nature of the responses was evaluated to see whether they formed direct answers or manipulation of the questions. I consider that evasiveness in Turkish women's interactional style signals deceptiveness and validity as two main themes which go along the continuum of covert and overt evasiveness (see also Miller and Stiff, 1993). Deceptiveness in my analysis was associated with covert practices where answers were veiled through the manipulation of discourse focus, indirectness and ostensible compliance. Validity, where the intention of the interaction was stated in a relatively clearer way, was emphasized in overt practices through which uncooperativeness and resistance. Hence, I went back to Clayman's (2001) and Galasinski's (1996a and 1996b) studies to compare the strategies I found in my corpus with those in the literature. Some answer types in TWIST failed to fit into any of the suggested categories in Clayman (2001) and Galasinski (1996a and 1996b). Thus, concerning the different genres (i.e. political discourse vs. daily discourse), the evasive styles in political interviews were either excluded, or some additional categories were added to fit some examples into the classification, such as ostensible compliance and the tactic of telling long narratives and different types of resistance.

Construction of a broader categorization in my corpus results from several differences between political and non-political interviews. Bull (1998) points out that politicians' replies are intended not for the interviewer, but for the listening audiences. In other words, politicians appear on television as the representative of their party and their voters in order to manage and save and/or defend their collective face. The participants of the interviews on delicate topics, on the other hand, take into account the reaction of both other participants in the course of interaction and their wider social contacts which do not exist in the interaction. While politicians avoid direct replies, which could put them in a difficult situation or would offend a substantial number of voters, Turkish women take into consideration their family, husband and the society they live in.

Some scholars point out uniqueness and special form of political interviews as compared to any other social interactions. According to Heritage (1985:112) "news interviews is a functionally specialized form of social interaction produced for an overhearing audience and restricted by institutionalized conventions". Political interviews are usually restricted to one single agenda. Within the frame of this specific agenda, potential questions raised by the interviewer can be more or less anticipated, and the answers can be preplanned. In this sense, it is possible to talk about a tendency toward agenda shifting procedures for politicians in order to foreground accomplishments, and to conceal failures on the topic on the agenda. In our case, however, since the respondents are non-politicians without a specific agenda, they try to manage questions on critical and delicate topics with minimum

risk, through spontaneous reactions and the main motivation of the speakers should be the avoidance of putting themselves in socially risky positions.

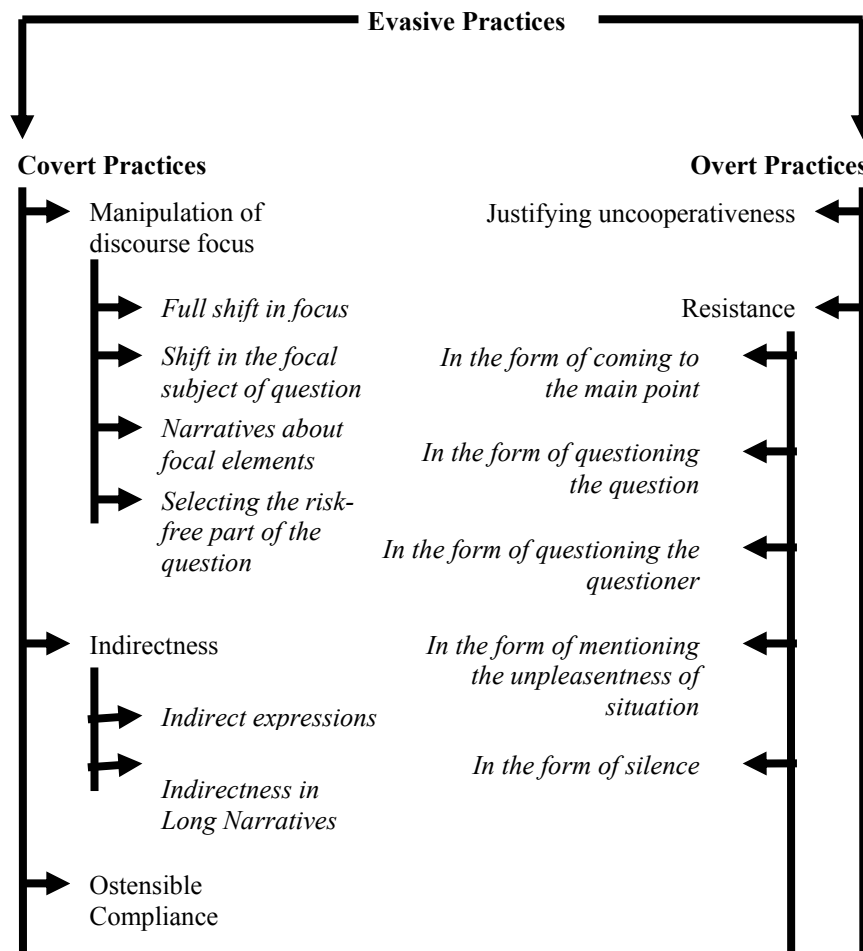


Figure 1. Distribution of covert and overt practices in TWIST

Since desire to be approved and establishing a positive image are the main incentives for the politicians, the notion of positive face and assertive self-presentation are the central aspects of political interviews. Politicians' political success depends on the approval of the majority of the people, whilst participants of interviews on delicate topics try to preserve their established image on others by taking minimum risk and gaining the approval of others depending on their performances on critical topics. In this sense, management of delicate topics

combined with face saving strategies covers a passive version of positive face, namely protective self-presentation strategy for Turkish women and an attempt to reestablish the damaged images, that is, defensive self-presentation. In political news interviews, the politicians' desire to have autonomy of action causes negative politeness, if the speakers/participants exert some control on the agenda of the question. In the interviews on sexual and health issues, rather than direct refusals, overt and covert practices of topic manipulation signal mitigation of some sort of confrontations, and the consideration of the face wants of the both parties.

Hence, agreeing on macro-analytical components of the previous studies (i.e. covert practices vs. overt practices), evasiveness in Turkish women's interactional style were categorized into two ways with reference to their attitude on avoidance of the topic of interaction: covert practices and overt practices (see Figure 1 on the previous page).

5.3.1 Covert Practices

In the case of covert evasion, the evader moves beyond the parameters of the question by answering on the topics that are not specifically called for without explicitly acknowledging the fact that s/he will deviate from the topic of interaction. In other words, the speaker does not signal that s/he does not reply the questions cooperatively. According to Clayman (2001:424) what makes an answer covert evasion "is that the interviewees avoid any explicit acknowledgment of the fact that a shift is in progress, and they may also take steps to conceal that fact". Through covert practices people settle for protective self-presentation style that prevents audiences from evaluating them in a negative fashion. The main focus is on avoiding blatant failures rather than achieving major successes.

Covert evasion can be displayed differently with respect to magnitude and kind. Shifts in our data can be categorized into three groups: manipulation in discourse focus, indirect responses to the questions which require inference mechanism of the listener to come to a conclusion, and ostensible compliance.

5.3.1.1 *Manipulation of Discourse Focus*

Full shift in focus

Speakers may sometimes keep on talking and pretend to continue the interaction, but they avoid the focal point and talk about on another topic whether it is relevant or irrelevant with the discourse focus.

Context :Nuptial night
(S= Saniye)

- (1) *Int: Onunla yatacaksın, onunla kalkacaksın, aynı ehmiyette yatağı paylaşacaksın, başka özel şeyleri, bi zorluk çekmediniz mi o zaman?*
S: Ben bah, iki yıl nişanlı galmama rağmen, ben çok zorluk çeştim. Benim çünkü annem burda olmadığı için, ben babamın yanında

büyüdüm. Ben evimin son gızıyım, babam beni çok şımarttı ailem beni, her istediğimi aldı. Hatta çok iyi hatırlıyorum; yeni evlendiğimizde benim canım seker istemişti. Ben bi ara çok şeker yiyodum, çukulata kıvrır zıvır. Beyim almadı oturup zırl zırl ağladım. Bi çukulata için düşünebiliyo musun? O kadar zoruma gitmisti ki bu bana niye almıyo?

Int: Him.

S: Gittim babama dedim ki baba dedim, damadın bana çukulata almıyo. Gızım ne çukulatası aha çukulata mı yoh? Artık utan, ayıp yani. Babam da ona hak verdi. O zaman ben düşünmüstüm ki beni sevmiyollar artık (gülerek) damadı daha çok seviyolar.

<Gülüşmeler>

S: Yani öyle ben çok şımartıldım ben.

Int: Peki, benim sorduğum başka bi şey ama. Yani şimdi o ilk geceden, o deneyimden söz ediyorum yani. Babamla büyüdüüm dedin.

S: Kesssinlikle! Bizim sağdıcımız vardı ama, sağdıcımız içmişti bizde. Sağolsun gafayı bulmuşlarmış, bi sey bilmiyolar. Ondan sona, bizi yuharı çıkarttılar işte, herkes aşağıda oturuyo yalnız. Bizim kendi evimiz vardı, kendi evimize indik, yani kayınbabam, kayınvalidemin evine inmedik.

Int: So, you will sleep with him, get up with him, uhm you will share your bed with him and many special things. Didn't you have any difficulties at that time?

S: I, look, although I had been engaged to him for two years, I had great difficulties. As my mum was not with me, I was raised by my dad. I was the youngest child in the family. So my father and my family spoiled me a lot, they bought whatever I wanted. Once, I remember very well, when I had just gotten married, I felt like eating some sweets. In those days I used to eat a lot of sweets, chocolates etc. My husband didn't buy whatever I wanted and I sat and cried loudly. Can you imagine that? It is for only a bar of chocolate. I was affected by the fact that he didn't buy me a bar of chocolate.

Int: Uhuhm.

S: I went to my dad and said "dad your son-in-law does not buy me some chocolate". "What chocolate are you talking about my girl?" asked my dad. "Haven't you eaten any chocolate? Shame on you!" he said. So, my father was on his side. At that time, I thought that they did not love me anymore (laughing) they loved their son in law more. <Laughter>

S: I mean I was spoiled in such a way.

Int: But, what I am asking is something different. I mean I am talking about the first night of your marriage, your first experience. You said you were raised by your father.

S: Deffinitely! We had a matron, but she had drunk heavily. For God's sake, they were all drunk and weren't aware of anything. Then they let us go upstairs, but everybody was sitting downstairs. We had our

house there. I mean we went to our house after the wedding, not to the house of my father-in-law.

In this example S tries to sidestep the question as she takes into account the negative inferences generated in case she shares her privacy with others. Rather than answering the question about her experience in her nuptial night, she speaks instead about her immature manners and the way she was nurtured. However this shift is obscured by initial reference to the question “Although I had been engaged for two years, I had great difficulties”. Hence the interviewer, recognizing her maneuver, explicitly says that she is not satisfied with her answer and she is actually asking about something else. However, S is for the second time deviating from the focal point and telling about their drunken matron.

Shift in the focal subject of the question

Speakers sometimes apply pronominal shift by depersonalizing their answers to detach themselves from an unpleasant situation. Let’s consider example (2) as an example of shift in the focal subject of the answer. Detailed qualitative and quantitative analysis of shifted references in TWIST will be discussed in section 5.4 below.

Context: Sex life
(Ş=Şengül)

- (2) *Int: Peki cinselliğe nasıl bakıyorsunuz? Yani doğal bi şey mi? Yani yaşamımızın olması gereken bi bi bölümü mü yoksa, hani olmasa da olur cinsinden bi şey mi?*
- Ş: Genelde genelde erkekler daha çok düşkün oluyo. Ben hiç böyle çevremde çok düşkün bi kadın görmedim ki bu gece bu iş olacak, oh hafta sonu diye hiç duymadım. Ya, ailemde, tanıdığım arkadaşlarımda hiç ...*
- Int: Okay, what do you think about sexuality? Is it something natural? I mean is it vitally important in our life or is it an unimportant thing?*
- Ş: Generally, generally men are keen on sex. In my environment I have never seen a woman who is keen on sex, saying “Oh! we’ll do it tonight or weekend” etc. I have never heard of it. I mean, in my family, among my friends, never...*

In the example above, the interviewer actually asks four questions thereby providing Ş some options as to which question to answer. In all her questions the interviewer seeks to know about the respondent’s own opinion about sex life by using the *siz* pronoun (polite form of *you*) determining the focal proposition of the question. Ş, however, not only transfers the topic of the question from a general perspective of sex life to the desire of sex, but also avoids sharing her own opinion overtly. Therefore, she presents first men in general and then her friends and women around her, ignoring the *sen* (you) form in the question.

Narratives about the focal elements

The speakers may start to talk about an event on the focal subject of the question which shifts the focus of the question into other directions and initiates a new subject of talk. In this way, those speakers implicitly change the flow of the conversation into other risk-free dimensions.

Context: Birth control methods
(İ=İmdat, G= Güler)

- (3) *Int: Peki, başka doğum kontrol yöntemleri neler var? Neler biliyorsunuz?*
İ: Spirayıl tahiyolar işte. Bizim köy, bizim Yozgat tarafında da işte böyle spirayıl -ne demişler işte şey, spirayıl tahlıl da ölenin cenazesi kılınmaz, günahımışı diye
Int: Aa?
İ: Ondan sona spiraylı cihartan hamile galyo yaşlı kadınlar böyle.
Int: Aa?
İ: Bunu kim niye dediyse... Mesela ben de şeyden hocadan duydum; mesela diyo kalp nakli oluyo diyo, mesela diyo protez dahılyo bi yerine diyo yani onun hiç bi günahı yoh bi tel diyo
G: Olur mu canım öyle?
İ: Günahı yok spiraylin diyo hoca da.
- Int: What are the other birth control methods? What do you know about them?*
İ: People use the spiral. In our village, I mean in Yozgat region, people say that uhm if a woman died with a spiral in her body, her funeral procession can't be conducted, as using the spiral is a sin.
Int: Oh!
İ: Then those who had the spiral taken out got pregnant, even the old women!
Int: Oh!
İ: I don't know who said so with what purpose. For instance, I also heard from the Hodja; for instance he says there are heart transplantation operations or there are prostheses applied to different parts of your body. So, he says it does not cause any sin, it is only a piece of wire.
G: How could it be honey?
İ: Hodja says the spiral does not cause any sin either.

Speaker İmdat launches her answer with a key word: spiral, which appears to be relevant with the interviewer's question. *Spiral* is commonly used in Turkish as a loan word. İmdat's use of *spirayıl* is a quasi-Turkish adaptation of the loan word "spiral" with Turkish pronunciation. İmdat initiates a story about using a spiral and this brings the topic into different directions such as whether using a spiral is a sin or not. Hence, although using a spiral is a birth control method, the story about the spiral does not constitute an answer to the question.

Selecting the Risk-free part(s) of the question

Alternatively, a speaker may choose to answer the least risky question from a group of questions listed one after the other. Then, seemingly, an answer may lie within the question's topical territory, but supplies information other than requested by the questioner. Hence, in example (4), when G is asked whether she was informed about sexuality before the nuptial night and what she experienced with a man she hardly knew, she offers a short answer of her lack of knowledge about sexuality and then immediately shifts to the topic of her eagerness to read and to learn about sex by herself. She thus skirts the question about her nuptial night experience.

Context: Nuptial night/sex education
(G=Gülay).

- (4) Int.: [...] Size birileri bi şey anlattı mı? Nerden öğrendiniz? Neler yaşadınız?
- G: Hiç kimse bi şey anlatmadı. Ben okuyodum gerçi. İlkokuldan beri böyle yani hani köy yerinde oturuyoruz. Benim bi öğretmenim vardı onun gasteleri, o zaman Hafta Sonu gastesi falan vardı böyle
- Int: Magazin gasteleri
- G: Magazin gastelerine çok meraklıyım. Başka nerden öğrenebilirsin ki? Kitapları istiyoruz. Sağolsun yengem bana veriyodu. Çuvallarla getirirdi, onu ben annem çünkü elimde kitap öyle açıp okumaya bile izin vermezdi de, afedersin koyunların yattığı yerde gider okurdum. Meraklıyım herşeyi öğrenmek istiyodum.
- Int: Did anyone ever tell you anything about sexuality? How did you experience it?
- G: No one told me anything, but I had been reading since my primary school years. We used to live in a village—I had a teacher—I was reading her newspapers. At that time, there was a Weekend newspaper etc.
- Int: Tabloid newspapers.
- G: I was very interested in tabloid newspapers. Where can you learn about it? I borrowed some books. God bless my auntie, she used to lend me some. She used to bring them in sacks. As my mum didn't let me open and read them, I used to go and read—forgive me to say it—but in the place where the sheep slept. I was curious, I wanted to learn everything.

5.3.1.2 *Indirectness**Indirect Expressions*

The respondents may give a cooperative answer, which can be relevant to the agenda of the question. However, while formulating their answers, they may rely on figures of speech, euphemistic expressions, certain indexical expressions, namely those having meanings that are inextricably linked to the common ground

between speakers and hearers. In other words, they manipulate the language by employing ambiguous, abstract references, which trigger inference mechanisms in the hearers as the speakers avoid clear-cut statements on these delicate issues. A detailed analysis of interactional indirectness will be presented in the next chapter.

Context: Sexual Life
(A=Aydan)

- (5) *Int: Hıhm. Peki cinsel hayatta eşit misiniz? [...]*
A: Ya hayır, hayır demez. Ama bi de şu var zaten; eğer bu gemi birlikte gidicekse beraber gidicek, batırsa bu hani bera yani götürülecek adam gibi beraber gidicek. Yok dağılırsa bundan herkes yaralanır, zedelenir.
Int: Evet.
A: Yani senin dediğin olur, benim dediğim olmaz, şu olur bu olur bundan iki taraf da zedelenir
Int: Hıhm.
[...]
A: Yani zaten bi mutlu aileyse bana göre, o aile bi ülkedir. Kürenin içindeki aile mutluyorsa, anlaşıyorsa, ortak bi noktada buluşuyorsa, o aile bana göre bi ülkedir. Nası bi ülkenin cumhurbaşkanı çok çalışkandır, başbakanı çok çalışkandır, milletvekilleri çok verimlidir, ne olur, o ülke gide gide bi refah seviyesine gelir, ilerler.
Int: Hıhm.
A: Ama, başbakan hırsızdır, cumhurbaşkanı arsızdır, milletvekilleri başı boşdur. Noolur? O millet batır, birbirini kırar, o gemi batır. İşte aile de öyledir. Yani eğer evde bir birlik, dirlik ortak nokta bulunuyorsa
Int: Hıhm.
A: Bulunmuyorsa bi zaten her alan için geçerli. Mutfak için de geçerli, yatak odası için de geçerli, her şey için geçerli.
- Int: Uhuhm. So, are you equal in sex life?*
A: No, he does not say "no" to me. But there is one more thing; if this ship goes forward, we will manage it together, if it sinks, I mean, but if we manage it together, we will do it properly. If everything will collapse, this affects everybody.
Int: Yes.
A: I mean, what you say is wrong, what I say is correct, this will happen, that will happen etc., such arguments affect both sides.
Int: Uhuhm.
[...]
A: I mean, a happy family is like a country for me. If the family is happy, members of the family come together to a common point, this family is like a country for me. As in the case of a country, where the president is very hardworking, the prime minister is very hardworking, the members of parliament are very productive. What

would happen at the end? This country gradually reaches welfare and makes progress.

Int: Uhuhm.

A: But if the prime minister is a crook, the president is immoral and the members of parliament are out of control, that nation is corrupted, destroys itself and that ship sinks. Just like a family. I mean if there is a common point, peace and unity at home...

Int: Uhuhm.

A: But if there isn't any, this is valid in all arenas; valid for the kitchen, valid for the bedroom, it is valid for everything.

In the example above, speaker A sidesteps the question on equality in sex life by answering it with a long explanation of her understanding of a family and family unity. Indeed, she does not talk about her family, but an idealization of family life in general terms by connecting it with bedroom life. She uses a number of metaphors where a family and family members are associated with a country and the administrators of the country respectively. Although her explanations appear to be irrelevant to the topic of the question, she later constructs coherence by concluding, "this is valid in all arenas; valid for the kitchen, valid for the bedroom..." In this sense, indirectness through metaphors provides evasion and obscurity in the formulation of thoughts.

Indirectness in Long Narratives

Sometimes, rather than giving a direct answer, respondents may prefer to narrate the whole story related to a specific question and expect listeners to come to a conclusion. In other words, they avoid stating explicit results from certain events and entitle listeners to draw their own inferences from these events.

Context: Miscarriage
(B=Belma)

(6) B: *İstemedem değil, isteyerek düşürdüm.*

Int: *Nası yaptınız?*

B: *<Güler>*

Int: *Bi şeyler mi yaptınız siz?*

B: *Evet. İki ay mıydı ne? Yok, bir ay yeni bitirdim işte, iki ikinci aya girmiştım. N. dedim gel bu çocuğu aldırarak dedim. Ya, dedi günah dedi, şu hayırlı mübarek günde çocuk aldırılır mı? dedi.*

Int: *Beş, beş cocuktan sonra mı oluyo bu?*

B: *Hıhım. Orda N.'e öyle dedim. Ben dedim ya ne günahı dedim, Allahını seversen şunu gitmeden halledek dedim. O attı beni çalışmaya geldi. Dedim bu ister istiyo heralde bu çocuğu dedim. Şimdi biz köyde bulgur gaynatırız*

Int: *Hım.*

B: *Çektirmeye götürdüydük onu. Hani komşularımız hep birleşiriz, gideriz birbirimize yardımlaşarak şeye ederiz. Eleriz, çaharız, orda hazırlar getiririz. Duttum dedim ya siz durun dedim biliyon mu? Hiç*

kimse de bilmiyo hani saklıyom ya bilen hiç yok. Dedim ben siz şey edeneceğe, şu çulları çirpinacağa ben bunları onların üstüne getiririm. Hani baya da ben böyle şey ettiğim gibi diyelim. Hani tek başıma kaldırdım kaldırdım hep şeye attım. Hee, hepsini de yerleştirdim.

Int: Ağır taşıydın yani.

B: Hım.

B: I had a miscarriage not as a result of natural causes, but on purpose.

Int: How did you do that?

B: <Laughter>

Int: Did you do something?

B: Yes, was I in my second month of pregnancy? No, I had just finished my first month and my second month had just started. I said N, let's go and get an abortion. No he said, it is a sin to do that. How can you get an abortion on this holy day (Ramadan) he said.

Int: Did this happen after five children?

B: Uhuhm. I said to him what kind of a sin are you talking about? Let's solve this problem before you leave for God's sake I said. He left me there and came here to work. I thought that he perhaps wanted to have this child. We boil cracked wheat in the village

Int: Uhuhm.

B: We went to the mill to grind this cracked wheat. We always go there all together with our neighbours, through the division of labor we help each other. We sift, prepare it and bring it back home. Guess what I said to them? Don't do anything I said. No one knew about my situation. I was hiding it. While you are dealing with the other things, I will put them one above the other I said. I carried all the sacks one by one by myself. Yeah, I took care of it all.

Int: So, you carried heavy things.

B: Uhuhm.

Rather than explaining the method she applied to cause a miscarriage, speaker B chooses to tell the whole story about her miscarriage. While this tactic allows her to converse in a talkative, cooperative manner, the interviewer tries to bridge the gaps and to come to a conclusion from the clues given in to the story. Although the story seems to be elaborately narrated, she does not explicitly declare what she did for a miscarriage. That is why the interviewer tries to ratify what she grasped from the story.

5.3.1.3 *Ostensible Compliance*

In the case of ostensible compliance, a speaker pretends to engage in the interview process. S/he can be seen as trying to make the interviewer believe that his/her response is cooperative and s/he answers the question raised. Here, the respondent implicitly asks the recognition of his/her pretense by addressee. According to Isaacs and Clark (1990) in ostensible speech acts, collaboration is

required to confirm mutual belief in the pretense and if possible to make the off-record purpose mutually understood. When the speaker pretends to answer the questions by “saying something without really saying it” or “saying nothing while saying something” (Bavelas et al., 1990:21), here the matter is not to change the topic of question or to display resistance to questions, but to behave as if one was cooperating with the interviewer. Ostensible compliances, as my data present, constitute a coherent class of speech acts that are identifiable by a small number of properties. Here is an example from the corpus:

Context: Sex education
(D=Demet, İ= İpek)

- (7) *Int: Peki evlenmeden önce, hani ilk geceden önce birisi anlattı mı size?*
D: Onu da aynı amcamın kızından aldım, o bilgiyi de ben.
Int: Ha, ne anlattı mesela?
D: E, Ne olacak ki? Anlattı işte (Güler)
Int: Yani?
İ: Böyle böyle!
D: Böyle böyle!
 <Gülüşmeler>

Int: Before your marriage, I mean before the first night, had someone ever talked with you about it (sex)?
D: I learned about it, that information, from my uncle’s daughter as well.
Int: Uhuhm. What did she say for instance?
D: What could it be? She said about it(Laughing)
Int: So?
İ: This is this!
D: This is this!
 <Laughter>

1. Pretense: Speaker D pretends to give a relevant, clear-cut answer.
2. Mutual recognition: Interviewer and N mutually recognize N’s pretense.
3. Involvement: Interviewer is not convinced by the answer.
4. Challenge/Resistance: As the interviewer asks the content of the talk, the speaker N insists on her answer.

While the speakers are pretending to answer, they expect their pretense to be recognized by the interviewer as well. The interviewer may take the responses as sincere attempts to answer the questions or she may take them as ostensibly sincere. If the interviewer does not collude with the interviewees on the mutual pretense by responding accordingly, challenges occur from both sides.

5.3.2 Overt Practices

For Galasinski (1996b:7), overt evasions are those utterances “in which the speaker more or less directly signals that s/he is not going to give a co-operative answer”. Overt evasiveness appears to arise from people’s concerns about repairing potentially damaging self-images, warding off negative effects that may come through interacting on stigmatized topics. We identify two main ways by which the speakers mention that they will not give relevant answers; justifying uncooperativeness and resistance.

5.3.2.1 Justifying Uncooperativeness

In this case, the speaker signals that there are some factors hindering her responses and it is not her/his intention to give an uncooperative answer. Hence, a number of excuses are put forward to explain uncooperativeness, such as forgetfulness, or not having much to say on the topic, lacking knowledge and so on.

Context: Sex life
(İ= İmdat, H= Hesna, G= Güler)

- (8) *Int: E, peki hayır deme hakkınız var mı?*
İ: Hayır diyon ama dediğini dutmuyo ki. Hayır dedük...
<Gülüşmeler>
H: Hayır, hayır, acık...tekmeyle mekmeylen son etabın da zorunan da olsa alıyolar iste.
G: Zorunan da olsa alıyolar iste.
<Gülüşmeler>
H: Söziün kıssası tekmeyle mekmeylen...
Int: Siz ne diyosunuz peki?
G: Ne diyim bitti işte yoh!
- Int: So, do you have the right to say no (in your sex life)?*
İ: You say “no”, but it does not work out. We said “no”...
<Laughter>
H: No, no, by kicking etc., they finally get whatever they want by force.
G: They get it though it is by force.
<Laughter>
H: In short, by kicking etc...
Int: What do you think about it?
G: What can I say? There is nothing to say, it is over!

In the following example, the speaker pretends to be forgetful about the details of her nuptial night.

Context: Nuptial night
(İ= İmdat)

- (9) *Int: Heh, yani bekleyen var mıydı? Hadi bakalım görelim diye*
İ: Bizim orda beklelerdi, ondan sonra annesi vurur. Ordan ne, damat der ki gurt musun, goyun musun der annesi. Damat da der ki hani
Int: Hım
İ: Koyun olursa hani kızlığı olmuyomuş,
Int: Hım
İ: Kurt olursa hani oluyomuş.
Int: Heee!
İ: Gurdum anne gurdum diye gapıya yumruğu vurursa, ondan sona annesi gider uyur. Yoksa annesi bekler orda.
Int: Sizde sizde öyle mi?
İ: Bizde de öyle hı.
Int: E, peki sizde kurt mu dedi yani kurt muyum mu dedi?
İ: Bilmiyom ki unuttum, getti.
<Kahkalar>

- İ: In our region, they used to wait for it. The mother knocks on the door and asks the groom: “are you a sheep or are you a wolf” she asks.*
Int: Uhuhm.
İ: If it is sheep, then the bride is not a virgin.
Int: Uhuhm.
İ: If it is wolf, then she is.
Int: Aha!
İ: If he knocks on the door saying I am a wolf mum, I am a wolf, then she goes and sleeps peacefully.
Int: In your case, in your case was it the same?
İ: Yes, it was uhuhm.
Int: So did he say wolf, I mean I am a wolf?
İ: I don’t know. I have already forgotten about it.
<Laughter>

Context: Birth Control methods
 (N= Neval)

- (10) *Int: Hıhım. Ee, siz niçin tercih etmiyosunuz spirali?*
N: Bilmiyom. Baştan öyle...gördük, öyle bilmiyorum.
Int: Uhuhm. Why don’t you want the spiral?
N: I don’t know. We started at the very beginning like that, I don’t know.

In the examples (8), (9) and (10), the speaker indicates that there is nothing to tell (8), and she has already forgotten about it (9), and she does not know why she behaves in this way (10) are aimed at a pretense where speakers imply that the reason for their uncooperativeness is outside their intention, it is due to external reasons.

5.3.2.2 Resistance

Resistance is a kind of reaction observed when the speaker has a problem in answering the questions. I consider resistance as the creation of other strategies rather than attempts of topic shifts. Resistance strategies can be categorized as questioning the question, questioning the questioner and the presupposed common ground, signaling the unpleasantness of the situation, and so on.

Resistance in the Form of not Coming to the Main Point

Sometimes speakers deliberately do not come to the main point of the question or they pretend to understand an indirect question literally as in the following answer. Consider how D flatly resists a question about her personal experience on her nuptial night:

Context: Nuptial night
(D= Demet)

- (11) *Int: Evlendiniz, sizi bir odaya koydular. Siz bu adamla beraber olacaksınız. Yani çok az tanıdığınız bi insanla artık ömür boyu hayat geçireceksiniz. Ehm neler hissettiniz yani ilk gece? Ya da hiç tanımadığınız bir insanla oldu?*
- D: Oturduk çay içtik.*
<Gülüşmeler>
- Int: Benim bildiğim öyle şeyler olmuyo!*
<Gülüşmeler>
- D: Vallahi diyorum. Oturduk, o bana bi şey söyleyemiyo, ben ona bi şey söyleyemiyorum. Tamam o iş yapılcaak farkındayız falan.*
- Int: You got married and they put you into a room and you were going to be together with this man. I mean you will spend the rest of your life with a man you hardly know. Uhm, how did you feel about that, I mean on your nuptial night? Or what happened with a man that you didn't know at all?*
- D: We just sat and drank tea.*
<Laughter>
- Int: As far as I know, you don't do such things.*
<Laughter>
- D: I swear it! We just sat, he was not saying anything to me, I couldn't say anything to him. Yes, we were aware that we had to do that business, but...*

In the example above, although speaker D knows quite well what the interviewer means, she insists on talking about the preliminary details of that night and resists coming to the main point. She does, however, keep on talking without refusing to interact.

Resistance in the Form of Questioning the Question

Speakers can also attack the propositional content of the question or question the question in term of its appropriateness and suitability in the situation.

Context: Sex education
(G= Güler)

- (12) *Int: Evet. Siz peki çocuklarınıza anlatır mısınız? Ya da düşünür müsünüz anlatmayı ya da söylemeyi? Merak ediyodur mesela çocuklar, anne karnında ne oldu? Nasıl doğdum falan sormuyolar mı size hiç çocuklar?*
- G: Valla, ne soracah? Çocuk ne bilsin onları?*
- Int: Ama televizyondan falan izleyip soruyodur. Ben nasıl doğdum, beni kim getirdi?*
- G: Hastaneden aldık diyoh (Gülerek)*
- Int: Öyle mi diyosunuz?*
- G: Mesela biz beni hamileydim, yatıp dinliyoları çocuğu. Gıbık diyo mu, depih atıyo anne deyin.*
- Int: Hım. Sormuyolar mı nasıl geldi karnına falan anne diye?*
- G: Valla ne bilsin!*
- Int: Yes, but do you tell your children? Or do you plan to tell them everything? For example they may be curious about what happens in a mother's tummy. Have they ever asked you how they were born for example?*
- G: What can he ask? How could a child know these?*
- Int: But, watching television, they may ask how they were born, who brought them.*
- G: We say we got you from the hospital (laughing).*
- Int: Do you say so?*
- G: For example when I was pregnant, lying (on my tummy), they used to listen to the baby asking is he kicking you mum.*
- Int: Uhuhm. Don't they ask how the baby came into your tummy etc?*
- G: How could they know that?*

In her responses G either states openly or implies that the question asked is in some way nonsense, as young children could not ask such questions. She reacts to the interviewer's follow-up questions by raising other questions such as "What can he ask?" or "How could a child know these?" etc.

Resistance in the Form of Questioning the Questioner

Some speakers may directly attack the interviewer by questioning a personal trait, the manner of asking questions, level of information on the subject, and so on.

Context: Nuptial night
(L= Lerzan)

- (13) L: *Gerçekten, o yani o öyle ilginç düşünceleri var ki... Beni üzmemek için elinden geleni yaptı. Annesi babası kapıyı çalıyo falan, herkesi kovdu.*
 Int: *Him, a kapıyı mıydı mı çaldılar?*
 L: *E, tabi onlarda adettir.*
 S: *Adettir.*
 L: *Siz adetleri bilmiyo musunuz? Kapıya gelirler işte!*
- L: He had really interesting ideas...He did his best not to make me sorry. His parents were knocking on the door etc. He threw everybody out.
 Int: Uhuhm. Oh, did they knock on the door?
 L: Sure, it is a tradition there.
 S: It's a tradition.
 L: Don't you know the traditions? They come to the door!

In this example, while the questioner's lack of knowledge is criticized or questioned on the surface, the speaker, in fact, tries to manage a question that she does not want to be exposed to and her uneasiness is indirectly reflected in this way.

Resistance in the Form of Mentioning Unpleasantness of the Situation

Some speakers may reflect unpleasantness of the situation and their reluctance to talk further on specific topics. These reactions are not in the form of an explicit refusal, but in the form of implicit objections basically on the subject of the discussion.

Context: Nuptial night
 (H= Hale, K= Kıymet, P= Perinaz)

- (14) Int: *Evet, sizin?*
 H: *Benimki çok maceralı oldu.*
 <Gülüşmeler>
 K: *O bi başlarsa...*
 <Gülüşmeler>
 P: *Ya çok derinlere daldınız ya!*
- Int: And, yours? [Your nuptial night—NKY]
 H: Mine was really adventurous.
 <Laughter>
 K: If she starts...
 <Laughter>
 P: Hey! You went too far!

In the example above, speaker P is not pleased with the topic of discussion and probably with participating in such an interview. She does not, however, bluntly refuse to talk. She is contented with saying that what is being spoken goes too far with the private issues by avoiding an open confrontation. "Hey" at the

beginning of her utterance indicates a protest and an implicit resistance rather than an active and direct confrontation. She implicitly warns others for going too far on such a critical topic.

Resistance in the Form of Silence

I also analyze how silence actually plays a communicative role in Turkish women's response to questions. Some speakers try to manage very critical questions by silence through pretending they have not heard the question or simply implying that they do not want to talk about on this matter.

The Turkish proverb *Söz gümüşse sukût altındır* (if speaking is silver, silence is gold) underlines that a man of few words is appreciated more than a man of many words. Cultural attitude, thus, plays a marked role in interpreting and evaluating what has been said and left unsaid. Jaworski (1993) argues that silence is perceived as significant and meaningful, when the speaker is expected to talk, but s/he intentionally withholds it. Silence in response to a critical question carries rather negative connotations. It mainly signals avoidance to talk about sensitive topics and/or disagreement with the interviewer's initiating these issues. Moreover, there are many visual nonverbal cues that help silence to be understood properly. As my corpus is based on audio-recordings, but not video recording, it is not possible to catch body movements, eye contact, changes of facial expressions for an elaborate interpretation. For that reason, it is possible to talk about resistance in the form of silence. Here is an example from the corpus:

Context: Birth control methods
(F= Fadime, N= Neval)

- (15) Int: *Peki, doğum kontrol yöntemi olarak hangi yöntemleri biliyorsunuz? Hangi yöntemleri biliyorsunuz diye soruyorum.*
 F: *Valla, korunuyoruz, hiç bi tane başka bi şey kullanmıyorum.*
 Int: *Ama nasıl korunuyosunuz? Korunuyoruz ne demek yani?*
 <Gülüşmeler>
 F: (Sessizlik)
 Int: *Yani eşiniz mi korunuyo?*
 N: *Eşi olarak tabi. Bizimki de öyle eşim korunuyo.*
- Int: Okay, what kind of birth control methods do you know? I asked what kind of birth control methods you know.
 F: Well, we are protecting ourselves, I am not using anything else.
 Int: But how do you protect yourselves? What do you mean by "we protect ourselves"?
 <Laughter>
 F: ... (Silence)
 Int: Do you mean that your husband is protecting?
 N: Sure, as her husband...In our case, my husband applies protection too.

In this example Fadime does not want to give the details about their birth control method with her husband, thus she is not talking. She signals her disagreement with speaking on this private issue through silence.

The following section presents a closer examination of a covert evasive strategy, namely depersonalization evidenced by the use of pronouns *sen* (you), *biz* (we) and impersonal nominal references *insan/adam* (human/man) instead of *ben* (I).

5.4 Depersonalization through Pronominal Shift

A great amount of theoretical and practical focus has been placed on the role of pronouns in the construction of agency. Person deixis has been studied widely within the framework of general linguistic theory (Jakobson, 1957; Lyons, 1977; Levinson, 1983 among others). Jakobson (1957) called pronominals “shifters” due to their ability to shift into different directions within the pronominal system. G.H. Mead’s (1934) famous distinction between “I” and “me” as the aspects of self provided some insights in relation to an understanding of human interaction and society, and created some inspiration for sociolinguists to work on pronominals. Goffman’s notion of “participation framework” became another effective tool for the analysis of linguistic aspects of social events as an embedded social activity. The seminal work of Brown and Gilman (1960) revealed that perceived roles of the speaker/hearer determine pronominal choices in certain societies, and pronominal usage is systematically related to variables such as formality/informality, power, solidarity, class and sex.

More recently, a vast body of literature has been devoted to pragmatically oriented studies of pronouns to show pronominal usage on specific context of utterance and the interactional goals of the speakers. Benveniste (1971:220) for the first time pointed out the importance of pronouns on pragmatic account and considered pronouns not only as referential signs, but also “the instruments of a conversion of a language into discourse”. A pronoun, thus, indexes the referent of an utterance with the speaker’s immediate context and its illocutionary force with wider socio-cultural context. Similarly, Mühlhäusler and Harre (1990) suggested the thesis of “double location” where pronominal choices reflect not only a person’s location in a spatio-temporal structure of things and events, but also in a structure of rights, obligations, so having a sense of moral responsibility. Further studies on more contextually dependent use of pronouns and/or pronominal shift with respect to thematic structure denote different aspects of the communicative goals of speakers and how pronominal forms can be manipulated to attain these goals.

Various studies of political discourse present the pragmatic role pronouns express in the speeches of politicians who manipulate pronouns for political strategy and personal reasons (Maitland and Wilson, 1987; Wilson, 1990; De Fina, 1995; Zupnik, 1994; Kuo, 2002). Furthermore, some linguists within the framework of critical discourse analysis consider pronominal usage in political discourse analysis in order to show the manipulation of power by powerful groups in capitalist societies (see Fairclough, 1989).

Given the potential complexity of interactional reference, a body of literature has taken the notion of “social meaning” into consideration on the basis of

spontaneous daily conversations (Duranti, 1984; Biq, 1991; Obeng, 1994; Malone, 1997). In a recent study, for instance, De Fina (2003) analyzed how pronoun switches can throw light on the construction of collective or “depersonalized” roles in the interactional negotiation of stories. Stewart (2003, 2001) examined pronominal choices of speakers in relation to mutual face wants of the speakers and the hearers within the broad framework of politeness theory. O’Connor (1994) examined the variation in indexicality and subsequent shifts in agency shown by pronouns “you” and “I” in prisoners’ narratives of stabbing.

Another group of study focused on the organization of perceptions of the social world in the male/female opposition through self-reference and pronoun alternation in gendered discourse (Rojo, 1997; Ostermann, 2003; Kuo, 2003). Kuo, for instance, stated that male sports reporters tend to employ more second person singular pronouns as compared to females, which denotes their strong self-involvement and interpersonal involvement with athletes and the TV audience. Rojo (1997) in another study studied the ways in which pronominal shifts and self-referencing strategies entail a modification of women’s social image among Spanish women.

This corpus-based study aims to examine, both qualitatively and quantitatively, shifts in agency evidenced by the use of pronouns *sen*, *biz* and impersonal nominal references *insan/adam* instead of *ben*. In-depth analysis of shifts in agency provides invaluable perspective and insight not only into linguistic functions of pronoun choices but also into their subtle social meanings. This analysis highlights the ways in which speakers exploit the multi-functionality of pronominal choices to express stances with respect to topics, and to shift alignments and positions.

In the following part of the chapter, the pronominal system of Turkish and some features of it will be briefly described. Then, shifted references will be discussed in detail in terms of their deictic and pragmatic functions. This analysis will be shown in a scale of shifted references. Distribution of pronominal shifts will be analyzed in two groups of women with respect to frequency and distance in shifts comparing sensitive and innocuous topics.

5.4.1 Pronominal System in Turkish

In order to analyze self-referencing strategies, it would be appropriate to state the overall pronominal system in Turkish. There are six personal pronouns in Turkish. The third person singular pronoun (He, She, It) is expressed by the same pronoun *O* denoting no gender difference as it is shown in the table below.

Table 1
Pronominal system in Turkish

Turkish	English Equivalents
<i>ben</i>	<i>I</i>
<i>sen</i> (2 nd p.sg./indef)	<i>you</i> (2 nd p.sg./indef)
<i>o</i>	<i>he, she, it</i>
<i>Biz, biz+ler</i> (pl. morpheme)	<i>we</i>
<i>siz</i> (2 nd p.pl./polite form of <i>sen</i>)	<i>you</i> (2 nd p.pl./-)
<i>onlar</i> (3 rd p.pl.def./ indef.)	<i>they</i> (def./ indef.)

It would be appropriate to explain the variation in pronoun usage. *Sen* stands for impersonal or indefinite *sen* form which brings about a sense of shared agency or experience, while the speakers still index themselves. *Biz* denotes regular *biz* which means *ben*+others. It is both used to encode solidarity and to strengthen shared authority thus deemphasizing individual responsibility. *Biz+ler* (pl. morpheme) is the semantic extension of regular *biz* form where the content of “others” in regular *biz* form is enlarged. While it is basically employed for an overemphasis of solidarity in group identity, it may include *biz* –inclusive and *biz-exclusive* cases. *Biz* (sing.) which is a nonstandard use of *biz* refers to a shift to a singular reference different from its conventional plural form. It is especially evidenced in sensitive topics where speakers’ invisibility is required. Turkish is one of the languages with *tu-vous* (T/V) distinction. In *sen/siz* distinction of Turkish *siz* is considered to be more respectful to use. It is both the polite form and plural form of *sen*, which is used in intimate situations or by superiors to inferiors. Two types of *onlar* refer to regular they and indefinite they respectively.

Another significant point about Turkish is that personal pronouns are not necessarily denoted in sentences explicitly. Speakers tend to make utterances with zero subjects in daily interaction. In other words, Turkish allows the omission of grammatical subject as in the following example:

Context: Abortion
(Ş=Şeyma, Int=Interviewer)

- (16) Int: *Çocuk aldırmaýı falan düşünmez misiniz?* (in polite form of “you”)
Ş: *Yok düşünmem. Saten bi tane aldırđım. Kürtaj oldum bi tane.*

Int: Don’t (**you**) ever think of having an abortion?
Ş: No (**I**) don’t. (**I**) have already had one. Once (**I**) had an abortion.

Here, the grammatical subject *ben* can be deduced from first person singular –m suffix attached to verb phrase.

In order to denote multiple uses of personal pronouns in conversational Turkish, the following schema was formed for Turkish pronoun system concerning the cases we faced with in the TWIST corpus.

Table 2
Self-referencing shifted references in
conversational Turkish.

Singular forms	Plural forms
<i>ben</i>	<i>biz</i> (sg.)
<i>sen</i> (indef.)	<i>biz</i> (pl.)
<i>insan/adam</i>	<i>biz+ler</i> (pl.)

As it is illustrated in Table 2, different versions of *biz*, *sen* and third person singular nominal references *insan/adam* are used to denote first person singular *ben* form. A detailed description on the use of *biz* (pl.), *biz* (sing.), *biz+pl*, *sen2* and *insan/adam* will be given with respect to their deictic and pragmatic functions in the qualitative analysis process. Diverging action of these shifting references from *ben* will be further discussed.

Rather than culling all the pronominals other than *ben* form in discourse and treating them in isolation, for the analysis of pronominal shifts, I selected passages where questions were raised specifically to the participants in *sen/siz* form and where the respondents answered questions about their personal experience. A pronoun shift was noted whenever the disclosure elicited by the question was presented in a form other than the first person singular.

5.4.2 Shifted References

5.4.2.1 Biz (*we*)

Employment of *biz* signals potential ambiguity in the sentences as *biz* covers “speakers and some indefinite number of others”. Thus, the *biz* form is a common way of sharing the responsibility of an action with others. In other words, by using the *biz* form, the speaker clearly admits that she has also played a part in a given situation, but the degree of the responsibility becomes vague as less light will be put on her through the plural meaning of *biz* form.

Biz (pl.) (Regular *biz*)

In most conversational speech as well as political speech, speakers use *biz* instead of first person singular *ben*. The *biz* form both provides a distancing device from the negative events and a solidarity device in the form of group identity. In this respect, employment of *biz* has a socio-psychological and communicative significance. It connects people with the strong feeling of sense of community as in Stone and Pennebaker’s (2002) study on shared upheaval after the sudden death of Princess Diana or Maitland and Wilson’s analysis (1987) of Thatcher’s speech as a

political leader embracing all the members of her party, her party's political aims. Similarly, Pennebaker and Lay (2003) analyzed and compared 35 press conferences of the Mayor of New York city, Rudolph Giuliani, on his personal crisis and the terrorist attacks on World Trade Center (WTC) on September 11, 2001. They pointed out the Mayor's intention to use "I" form during his personal crisis and tremendous increase in the use of "we" form during the first years of his administration and the WTC crisis. Whereas, "we" underlines distinctiveness or exclusion from a certain group of people as "we" form may include (we inclusive) or exclude (we exclusive) the hearer too. In a similar vein, Goffman (1981) mentions that making use of the forms such as "we" helps to distance the speaker from the immediate undesirable situation. Hence, "we" contains an evaluative component which is important for designating, reflecting and understanding identity boundaries. Consider the following example;

Context: Birth control methods
(S= Sinem)

- (17) Int: *Bildiğin ne tür doğum kontrol yöntemleri var? Neler var?*
 S: *Ya, ben ehm her doğum kontrolünden haberimiz var, her çeşidinden. Kendimize en uygun, en rahat hangisiyse biz onu kullanıyoruz.*
- Int: What kind of birth control methods do you know? What are these?
 S: Well, I uhm **we** are aware of all kinds of birth control, every type. **We** are using the most suitable one for **us**.

Sinem does not want to talk about how much she knows about contraceptives personally as knowing too much on sexual issues could also be a potential danger among Turkish women (Gifford et al., 1998). Employment of this plural "we" form stresses the fact that she is not taking responsibility for listing different types of contraceptives, but rather she is speaking in the name of a group of women.

Biz (sing.)

Biz does not always involve "speaker and the others" in Turkish and it functions as one of the basic interactive means through which speakers create new alignments with others. The singular use of first person plural form *biz* refers to a shift denoting a singular referent *ben* that differs from its conventional plural form. In the TWIST corpus this usage is specifically evidenced in sensitive topics where facework is the primary concern. In this sense, the main motivation behind the use of singular *biz* form is to pluralize the case and create invisibility for the speaker by making him/her not the subject of this specific action, but just one of the persons within the "crowded" content of *biz* form. Supporting this view, our examples generally appeared in difficult contexts where a confession, deny situation and/or a discussion point is the matter as in the following example:

Context: Sex life
(K=Kıymet, Z= Zarife)

- (18) *Int: Sizin hayır deme hakkınız oluyo mu yani (cinsel yaşamda)?*
K: Benim mi? Ya benim kendi açımdan oluyo tabi. O zaman da bi demi yani biraz gızıyo ama, ondan sonra da bi şey demiyo artık (Güler)
Z: Valla hastayım ben rahatsızım diyom, arkamı dönüyom yatıyom.
K: (Gülerek) ben arhamı dönmiyom da..
Z: Dönerim.
K: Ama sonuçta anlayışla karşılıyo yani.
Int: Ama reddetmek, sürekli reddetmek ilişkiyi zedelemiyomu?
K: Yo, sürekli reddetmiyoz.
- Int: I mean do you have the right to say “no” (in sex life)?*
K: On my account? On my account, I mean, of course I have. Then, he gets angry a little bit, but he does not say much.
Z: Honestly speaking, I say I am sick, I am ill, then I turn my back and sleep.
K: (Laughing) I don’t turn my back, but...
Z: Well, I do.
K: But he tolerates it at the end.
Int: But, does not rejecting, continuously rejecting affect the relationship?
K: No, we don’t continuously reject.

As we proceed through the extract, there is a shift from the personal voice ended in *ben* to the pluralized encoded by *biz*. It is quite clear that K, giving away her secrets about her sexual life, does not want to take the full responsibility of being active in her sex life among the women who have already claimed that they are not. Thus, *biz* form that she employs in her last sentence denotes only herself rather than other women who declared that they do not behave the way she does towards their husbands. Probably this is the reason forcing her to switch to *biz* form to shadow her uniqueness in this situation. This situation can be considered both as a possibility of the diffusion of responsibility through the plural content of *biz* and creation of a false consensus where a group of people is mentioned by *biz* form but in reality may be it is used to reflect only the view of the speaker.

Biz+ler

It can be considered as an extended version of regular *biz* form, which points out *ben* and others. With a plural suffix attached at the end of regular *biz*, speakers enlarge the content of “others” embedded in the meaning of “we” form. It may also indicate “we inclusive” and “we exclusive” cases in the form of a generalization and/or a speech on behalf of others in the group sessions and basically an overemphasis of solidarity in the form of group identity. In the TWIST corpus we have both cases where the speakers set a boundary between themselves and other speakers/interviewer and where they consider the hearer/interviewer as a member of their group where being a woman, or a mother is considered to be the common

ground. The following examples highlight different attempts in the employment of plural *biz*.

Context: Sexual education
(F= Fadime, S=Suzan)

- (19) *Int: Peki, bi şeyi merak edip de hiç sordukları olmadı mı? Ben nasıl doğdum, işte karnında bebek nasıl büyüyo falan böyle şeyler?*
F: Yok, hiç de sormadılar.
*S: Dar gelirli ailenin çocukları cesaret edip soramaz. L. Hanım benim şunu soruyo bunu soruyo dedi ama... Yani onların ki farklı. **Bizler** gibi dar gelirli insanların çocukları böyle cinsel şey olmaz.*
- Int: Having been curious, didn't they ever ask about it? I mean questions such as how I was born, how a baby grew up in your tummy etc.?*
F: No, they never asked.
*S: Children coming from poor families never dared to ask such questions. Though Lerzan said she is asking this and that, their situation is different. Children of poor families, like **we+pl**, can not make sexuality an issue.*

In this example, Suzan underlines the distinction between one of her group members, Lerzan, and the rest of the group. By the attachment of a plural suffix-ler on “biz” she emphasizes her involvement with the rest of the group, but not with Lerzan. As being poor is a negative trait, she may want to state this situation by pluralizing the case rather than denoting only herself as “poor”.

Consider the following example:

Context: Equality of men and women
(T=Tijen)

- (20) *Int: Peki, evlilik hayatında, ya da normal hayatta kadın erkek eşit mi sizce?*
(Sessizlik)...
Int: Yoksa değil mi?
*T: Valla ne kadar eşit desen de gene de erkek erkektir. [...] Tabi ki erkekler biraz üstün **bizlere** göre.*
- Int: Do you think that man and woman are equal in marriage life or in daily life?*
(silence).....
Int: Or aren't they?
*T: To be honest, although you said they are equal, a man is a man. [...] Men are of course a bit superior than **we all are**.*

In contrast to the previous example, here an ultimate generalization is the matter as Tijen uses *biz+ler* to indicate all women in this example. It is a common attempt to formulate morals and a cliché in relation to a group of people.

5.4.2.2 Sen (You)

In the most straightforward sense, a speaker refers to a hearer through the employment of the *sen* form, as *sen* puts the hearer in an addressed recipient position. In the form of a shifted reference, “you” creates greater ambiguity as it does not include any embedded “I” form.

“You” has been considered in a wide range of both deictic and pragmatic functions. Biq (1991) distinguished four types of second person singular pronoun “ni” usage in conversational Mandarin: a) the propositional *ni* (which is employed to denote the intended recipient of the utterance) b) impersonal *ni* (where no specific person is referred to) c) the dramatic *ni* (which occurs in direct quotations to dramatize the described situation) d) metalinguistic *ni* (which functions as an address to elicit the attention of the intended recipients of the speech).

Our analysis of the *sen* form was limited with the “impersonal *sen*” as we consider only the passages where respondents gave answers to the questions asking their personal opinion. Malone (1997:70) stated three ranges of references in the indefinite “you” form: “it can refer to a single addressee; or it can refer to a set of more than one addressee; or it can refer to an abstract category of people that do something or have something done to them”. Accordingly, self-detachment and other involvement in the form of “shared agency” are the main functions in using *sen* as a shifted reference form in the pragmatic account. Here are some instances of *sen* from our corpus:

Context: Gynecological exam
(İ= İmdat)

- (21) *Int: Yani ne nasıl rahatsız oluyosun bi anlat bakalım.*
*İ: Şimdi önceki gibi değil yani. Şey, hususi perde var böyle. Perdenin arhasına gir, soyun diyo. Perdenin arhasına **giriyon soyunuyon**. O odada kimse kalmıyo. Dohtur da hani kendi eldivenini felan daşıyo. Gidiyon orıya **yatiyon**, üzerini üstünü başını **örtüyön**.*

Int: So, tell me why are you irritated?
*İ: But now it is not the same as it was in the past. Uhm, there is a special curtain. He (the doctor) says go into the cabinet and take off your clothes. **You** take your place behind the curtain and take off your clothes. There is nobody else in the room. By the way the doctor puts on her/his gloves. **You** just go and lay down over there and cover your body.*

There should be motivation for a person to detach herself from a situation. This is the delicacy of the topic of discussion in our case. As the respondents do not want to put themselves under the spotlight, they employ shifted references in order

to veil their involvement. Considering the visual imagery given in the example above, İmdat does not want to take a part in the picture of “a woman under gynecological surgery”. Thus she puts the hearer into her position. As in the example below, however, speakers may talk with the *sen* form by bringing about a sense of shared agency or experience, while still indexing themselves.

Context: Effects of blind marriages on nuptial night.
(H=Hale)

- (22) H: *Beklemediğin şeyleri yaşıyorsun, sonra üzülyosun diyosun ki yani keşke bir sene iki sene bi nişanlılık dönemimiz olsaydı. İşte çıksaydık, görüşseydik, ailelerimiz birbirini tanısaydı.*

H: **You** experience totally unexpected things, **you** get worried and say If only we had been engaged for one or two years, we had dated, our families had known each other or what so ever...

For Wilson (1990), the indefinite “you” form can also give rise to a style of “formulation of morals ad truisms”. In other words, the “you” form reflects a common sense, in Wilson (1990:57) term, “a kind of conventional wisdom as opposed to actual experience”. In the following example, Neval uses the second person singular pronoun to express the customs related with the nuptial night. Although the interviewer asks about her private story related to that night with plural you, siz, a polite version of the second person singular form, she deviates from the personal and private perspective and carries the answer to a more generalized focus by neglecting the proper “I” form. She also tries to keep herself away from this situation and impersonalizes the case as she transfers her narration to the “you” form.

Context: Nuptial night
(N=Neval)

- (23) Int: *Sizde ne oldu peki?*
N: *O gece olup, vermen lazım.*
Int: *Bekliyolar yani.*
N: *Tabi canım beklilyolar çarsaşı.*
Int: *Ayyy, çok kötü!*
N: *Mecbursun. Sen zar zor o vakit o iş olacak*

Int: And what happened in your case?
N: **You** have to do it and give it .
Int: So, they are waiting for it?
N: Yes, of course. They are waiting for the sheet.
Int: Ohh! It is very bad!
N: **You** have to do so. With difficulty or not, **you** should manage it.

5.4.2.3 Impersonal Nominal References (*insan/adam*)

In the shift from first person singular *ben* to indefinite nominal references *insan/adam*, the speaker creates an object of talk through which s/he seeks to describe his/her opinions in a particular fashion. In other words, these references point to who we are not on the surface level. They, however, function as camouflage for *ben* especially in critical situations. Only the context and the common ground shared by speaker and hearer can provide clues for the domain of identity of the referents. In contrast to other pronouns *sen* and *biz* which denote presence and engagement in an interaction, impersonal nominal references remove the subject from the event and provide a disconnection between the action and the subject. Ashby (1992) discussed the various referential meanings of the third person pronoun for the first person in French. He notes that semantic role encoded by “on” could be an indefinite or what he calls nonidentifiable or “people in general” experience and thus the referent is an indefinite one conveying generalizations. Consider the example below:

Context: Sex life.
(Ş=Şeyma)

- (24) [...]
 Int: Her koşulda kadın erkeği mutlu etmeli mi? Yani kadının red etme hakkı var mı?
 Ş: Yok, canım, cinsel hayatta da bazen hani acık direniyöz.
 Int: Hum.
 Ş: Yani hani **insanın** bi hoş göynü olur, bi hoş olmadığı göynü olur.
 Int: Should women satisfy men under all conditions? I mean, can women refuse them or not?
 Ş: No, we sometimes resist a bit in sexual life.
 Int: Uhuhm.
 Ş: I mean a **person** is sometimes in the mood and sometimes not.

In our example, Şeyma uses firstly *biz* and then *insan* (Human being/man) to depersonalize the topic of sex life which turned into the details of her sex life. As she does not want to explicitly indicate that she accepts or refuses her husband depending on her mood, she uses this remote nominal reference which allows her both to generalize the case and detach herself from this difficult topic.

5.4.3 A Scale of Shifted References

Strategies of shifted references allow the speaker to declare his/her relative distance to the topics of discussion and highlight her particular approach and attitude towards a subject. Qualitative analysis and a short survey conducted among Turkish native speaker linguists have revealed the following hypothetical extent of shift to describe the way in which pronominal references are organized:

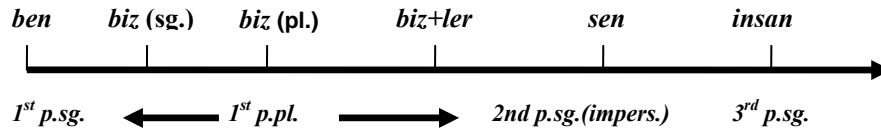


Figure 2. Extent of shift (Hypothetical scale)

On this scale *ben* is considered to be the most fundamental and subjective form of personal pronoun and all other forms display divergency from this deictic center. Our analysis divulged the fact that Turkish women quite frequently switch from the orthodox “I” form to primarily, different versions of the *biz* form, *sen* form and employment of an indefinite personal pronoun *insan/adam* respectively.

Biz (sg.) is considered as the closest pronoun to *ben* form as *biz* form includes “I and others” in its content. The use of *biz* in its traditional plural meaning is the second step to diverge from *ben* since this usage pluralizes the case and indicates the speaker as one of the persons involved in that interaction. Employment of plural we, *bizler*, however enlarges the content of “others” embedded in the meaning of *biz* form. Hence, the speaker further diverges from the *ben* form. *Sen* in this scale indicated indefinite or impersonal *sen* bringing about a sense of shared agency or experience. Indefinite nominal references are ultimate step in shifted references as they denote indefinite singular references which do not cover *ben* form in content meaning.

The table below illustrates the number of pronominal references used by the two groups. When we look at the overall use of pronouns main concentration is observed to be around *biz* (pl.) and *sen* usage. The Groningen group produced 56733 words. The speakers in the Ankara group used 37373 words. In general there is a high frequency of pronominal shifts in the Ankara group which reflects both avoidance-based interactional style and more strictly defined female gender role in Turkey. There is a considerable variation in how groups employ *biz* (pl.) and *sen* form. The Ankara group displayed a sharp increase in plural *biz* form and *sen* as compared to the amount used by the Groningen group.

Table 3
Overall use of self-referencing pronouns

Pronouns	The Groningen Group	The Ankara Group
<i>Ben</i>	1654	1161
<i>Biz</i> (sg.)	47	35
<i>Biz</i> (pl.)	291	399
<i>Biz</i> (pl.)+pl.	3	16
<i>Sen</i>	384	281
<i>İnsan</i>	27	16
Total	2406	1908

5.4.4 Distributional Analysis

In this section, I will present distributional evidence supporting my claim that the self-referencing pronominal shifts as a form of covert evasive strategies investigated in this study often serve the function of protecting the speaker's face. The presence of a distancing scale and the number of usage of each pronoun with respect to two groups provide us with two testing grounds for our interpretation for the use of shifted pronominals in self-protective purposes. Thus, the first hypothesis to be tested in this study is that if what we have regarded pronoun shifts as self-protective functions, they should occur more frequently in the sensitive topics than in innocuous topics. The second hypothesis is that larger shifts through the scale are expected to occur in sensitive topics than in innocuous topics.

Figure 2 shows that all shifted references occurred more often in sensitive topics than with innocuous topics in both the Groningen and the Ankara group.

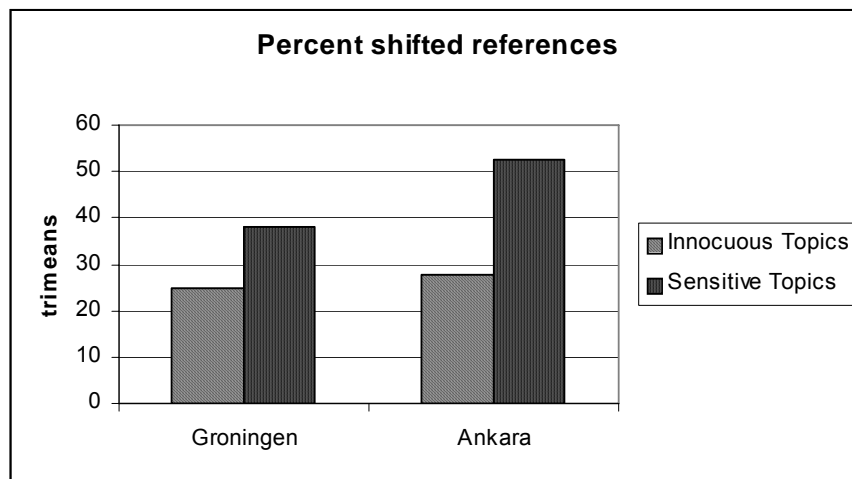


Figure 3. Percent shifted references with respect to sensitive and innocuous topics.

When I compared the use of pronouns within the groups with respect to the sensitive and innocuous topics, the Ankara group showed a statistically significant correlation between topic sensitivity and the use of *ben*, *biz* (sg.) and *biz* (pl.) ($Z=-3.9$ and $p=.00$, $Z=-2.6$ and $p=.009$, $Z=-3.4$ and $p=.001$) respectively. For the Groningen group, the Wilcoxon test indicated a statistically significant correlation between topic sensitivity and the use of *ben*, *biz* (sg.) and *biz* (pl.) ($Z=-2.8$ and $p=.005$, $Z=-3.2$ and $p=.001$, $Z=-2.7$ and $p=.006$ respectively). Hence, topic sensitivity triggers speakers to employ pronominal shifts for various interactional purposes such as detachment, diffusion of responsibility, generalization, involvement for protection.

Yet, the overall distributional analysis reflected a striking difference between the Ankara and Groningen groups at a strategic level. The Ankara group performed more frequent shifts than the Groningen group with respect to *ben* and *biz* (pl) in sensitive topics. I take this as (tentative) evidence for the influence of the more liberal Dutch cultural context on the women living in Groningen, while conservatism and religion may have conditioned the Ankara group's preference for the avoidance of agent role.

Turning now to the hypothesis that sensitive topics can trigger larger shifts than in innocuous topics, I want to observe whether the increased use of shifted references in the context of sensitive topics is larger than those in the context of innocuous topics as I go through the range of the shifted scale. Accordingly, I expect to see the largest differences in the last two items of the scale (*sen* and *insan*) in sensitive topics than in innocuous topics. Although the overall view reveals the fact that topic sensitivity triggers pronominal shifts in general, statistically significant differences in shifted reference employment tend to occur in *biz* (sg.) and *biz* (pl.). Hence, the pattern was broken in *sen* and *insan* usage and falsified my hypothesis. Small numbers of *biz*+pl cases (19 instances) in all sessions refers to inclusion of this form as regular *we* (pl.) to explain the trends in scale of shifted pronouns, which is reflected in Figure 4.

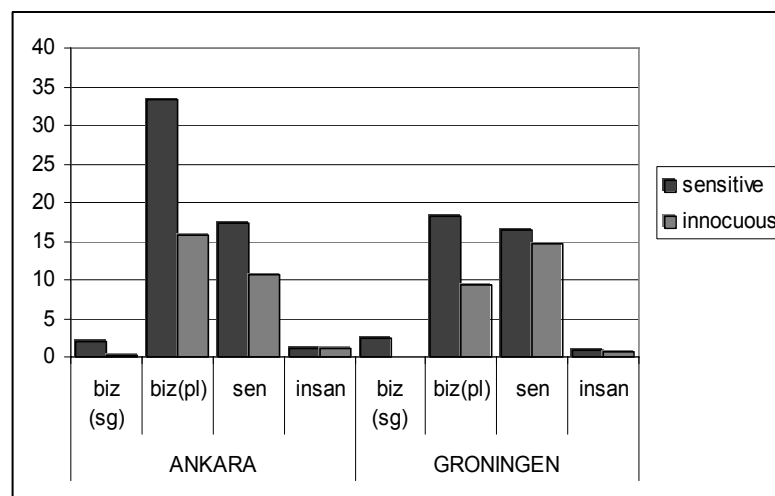


Figure 4. Shifted references with respect to sensitive and innocuous topics.

5.5 Discussion

Evasive communication strategies reflect a discursive presentation of Turkish women and the legitimization of women's discourse. They not only underline women's tendencies to behave in line with the mainstreams; but also, they produce, sustain, and reinforce ongoing facts and a "proper" way of linguistic interaction in terms of gender and cultural norms. In this sense, evasiveness projects

the gendered identity and the negotiation of social roles as the important indicators about the self and its perception in social world. When I consider the socio-cultural frame and social context, evasive communication appears to be a culturally conditioned interactional style. In other words, the speakers' evasive self-presentational behavior was the result of culture-specific normative expectations and demands of gender role. Not surprisingly, most of our evasive strategies took place in questions on sensitive topics and the number of covert strategies is higher than that of overt strategies.

Moreover, a deeper insight is given into the ways in which the speakers use shifted references *sen*, *biz*, nominal reference *insan* to present themselves as an agent in critical discourse situations. Our qualitative analysis revealed that by manipulating pronouns respondents can convey subtle social meanings that relate to their social identities or to their positions with respect to interlocutors especially in sensitive topics. Turkish women pursue interactional goals both at self-oriented and other-oriented dimensions. Self-oriented facework, which is the primary concern of this study, is managed either to protect the social image against the possible dangers and risks or to minimize the damage that has been done after the desired image has been threatened due to disclosure on sensitive topics. Other-oriented references such as *biz* project identification with others, solidarity, strengthening a shared authority and reemphasizing common ground.

In conclusion this chapter attempts to put forward a model for evasiveness across genres and cultures in a wider variety of social settings. In particular, the pragmatic domain is defined by the key parameters of avoidance and protective-defensive self-presentation. These strategies can also be refined by describing and analyzing variation of evasiveness across culture, across genres, and its registers within and between cultures. Evasive strategies identified in this study suggest that the cultural construct of "womanhood" affects the organization and content of discourse and that choices in interactional style are the results of the intersubjective influences of cultural meanings, normative practices and personal interpretations. It is not clear, however, whether educated women or male speakers show the same usage patterns for pronominal alternation as the less-educated women in this study. Furthermore, the overall frequencies of pronominal shift in my data may have been higher than in ordinary everyday conversation, as the setting used was particularly conducive to the elicitation of strategic language use.

6 Indirectness and Euphemism

6.1 Introduction

The relationship between production of indirect and euphemistic language use and variability in its motivation and formation in different cultures have been noted by many scholars (Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper, 1989; Blum-Kulka, 1991; Mc Glone and Batchelor, 2003 among others). Studies on indirectness are concentrated on two main trends: polite indirectness in the service of face management, and indirectness as a communication strategy in interpersonal relationships. BL (1987) construct a universal linguistic link between degree of politeness and degree of indirectness where motivation of indirectness through which individuals do not make all their beliefs and desires explicit is considered as a desire to be polite.

The second view on indirectness underlines its strategic, regulatory aspect employed not necessarily for politeness, but for the smoothness of a social interaction. Tannen (1981, 1986, 1990) defines indirectness as a component of conversational style and identifies two benefits of indirectness in interpersonal communication: defensiveness and rapport style. Defensiveness refers to a speaker's preference not to go on record in order to be able to disclaim, rescind, or modify his/her utterance if it does not meet with a positive response. For Holtgraves (1997:633) "it is a linguistic manifestation of manipulateness" providing deniability to the speaker. The rapport benefit of indirectness results from the pleasant experience of being understood without explaining oneself. In other words, by requiring the hearer to guess unstated meaning, indirectness contributes to a sense of involvement through mutual participation in sense making.

Embracing both perspectives, Obeng (1994:42) defines verbal indirectness as "communicational strategy in which interactants abstain from directness in order to obviate crisis or in order to communicate "difficulty", and thus make their utterances consistent with face and politeness". Indirectness is indeed multifunctional in talking on delicate topics. Firstly, it helps respondents detach themselves from negative events and/or socially stigmatized topics. Secondly, "indirectness strategies may help to minimize and sometimes totally eliminate risks of open confrontation and thereby help to protect the face of interactional

participants” (Obeng, 1997:202). Thus, avoiding direct disputes through indirectness, interactants maintain smooth relationships with the other parties in the interaction. Thirdly, when the respondents are asked to talk about risky topics, indirectness can help them to express their covert resistance against the invasion of their private territory in face-threatening situations.

Moving the focus to the formulation of indirectness, indirect style of interaction will be discussed with reference to euphemistic aspect of indirectness. Euphemism is the act of substituting a mild, indirect term in place of an embarrassing or unpleasant expression. The general tendency in the definition of euphemism is to describe it as a linguistic substitution category derived from a speaker’s hesitancy to offend an addressee (See Crystal, 1997; Rawson, 1981). Mey (1993:50), for instance, defines euphemism as “talking about something in terms that are deliberately chosen to pre-empt any negative reaction on the part of the receiver”. This definition restricts the illocutionary function of euphemism to other-oriented politeness and ignores the speakers’ need to save their own face. However, referring to a distasteful and/or socially stigmatized subject is a threat to positive face and this affects both parties. On the one hand, the hearer’s positive face is at stake as she considers the speaker to be disrespectful towards her. On the other hand, the speaker’s face is threatened by the negative consequences of the words deriving from the articulation of undesirable words. Thus, it can be concluded that in case of talk on a distasteful topic, there are two main motives for employing euphemism; to minimize the threat to the hearer’s face, and to protect the speaker’s own face, which result in rather precautionary face-management strategies. McGlone and Batchelor (2003) investigated the influence of these hearer-oriented and speaker-oriented face motives on euphemistic usage in an experimental study. They reported that euphemisms were used to describe undesirable topics more frequently among subjects who were informed that their identities would be disclosed to the recipient. Their results, thus, suggest that subjects tend to use euphemism more frequently for protective self-presentational purposes than for the face wants of their hearers.

The purpose of this chapter is to deepen insights into the ways in which indirectness and euphemistic expressions are effective in image construction in line with protective self-presentation, where speakers are not trying to make a favorable impression or fend off an attack to their face, but try to avoid damage to their established or assumed social identities. Indirectness interacts with euphemism in several figurative forms both to avoid revealing personal information and minimize the effect of face threatening situations. A detailed account of euphemistic reduplications, where non-preferred expressions are shown to be concealed by ambiguity will be further provided by qualitative and quantitative analysis.

The following section provides a systematic analysis of euphemistic structures, where Warren’s (1992) model is taken as a basis for four main methods of euphemistic construction. Section 3 concentrates on euphemistic reduplications, whose regular and easily observable structures allow straightforward qualitative and quantitative analyses. Section 4 concludes with discussion of the findings.

6.2 Euphemistic Indirectness

For the analysis of the euphemistic cases in the TWIST corpus, Warren's (1992) model of euphemistic structures was adopted. The model was derived from five hundred examples from two euphemistic dictionaries in English (Spears, 1981; Neaman & Silver, 1983). Warren formulated a model embracing both formal and semantic innovations enabling a speaker to denote a sensitive issue in a tactful and/or veiled manner. There is no explanation whether these examples are fictitious or taken from natural data. She uses "euphemism" as an "umbrella" term to denote a wide range of linguistic maneuvers to handle delicate issues. Warren designates four main ways in which euphemisms may be constructed to yield either a new form, which is sequence of phonemes or morphemes not previously used in the language in question, or a new sense for an established form:

- (1) Word-formation devices
- (2) Phonemic modification
- (3) Loan words
- (4) Semantic Innovation

Warren mentioned the possibility of the employment of some other minor methods such as omission, or replacement of some unarticulated noise in speech to catch the examples that do not fit into the model. However, problems arose as some cases of euphemism that I came across in the TWIST corpus failed to fit into any of the suggested categories, and some of her subcategories did not exist in the TWIST corpus. Thus, some of the methods were either excluded as they were not represented in the TWIST, or some additional categories were added to fit some examples into the classification. As a result, while elliptical structures, circumlocution, and indexical expressions were added to the model, blends, acronyms, back slang, abbreviation, reversals, understatements and overstatements are deleted from the original model. Figure 1 presents the classification of euphemistic structures in TWIST.

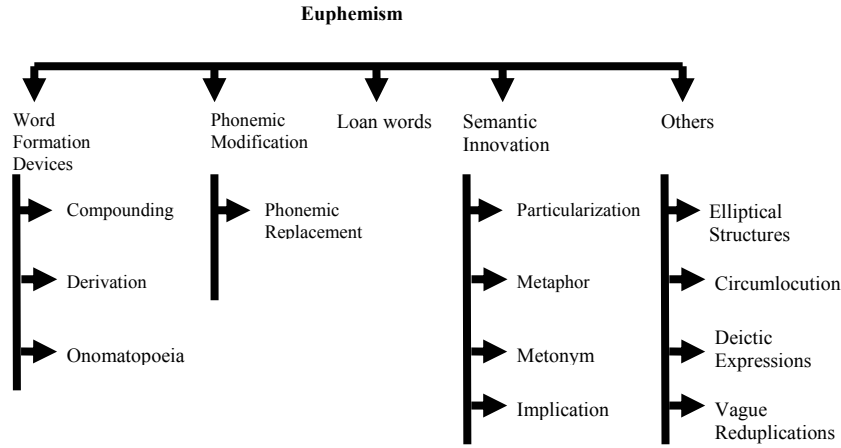


Figure 1. Classification of devices for construction of euphemism in TWIST.

6.2.1 Word Formation Devices

6.2.1.1 Compounding

Compounding stands for combining two individually innocuous words to form a euphemism for an undesirable word. Consider the following examples in Table 1.

Table 1
Compounding as euphemism

Established Sense	Euphemistic Sense
<i>Hak deliği</i> (Hole permitted by God)	Female genital organ
<i>Ana vatan</i> (Mother land)	Female genital organ
<i>Ayıp yer</i> (Shameful place)	Female genital organ
<i>Ay hali</i> (Monthly situation)	Menstruation
<i>Ay başı</i> (Beginning of a month)	Menstruation
<i>Muayyen günler</i> (Definite days)	Menstruation

6.2.1.2 Derivation

It is the modification of a term in a foreign language to form a standard word in another language. The expression “*regl olmak*” (to become regl) is also widely used in popular media and women magazines. In colloquial use of spoken Turkish, however, it is transformed to “*renkli olmak*” (to be colored) by uneducated speakers.

6.2.1.3 *Onomatopoeia*

Onomatopoeia is a type of word that sounds like the thing it is describing. Onomatopoeic sounds in the TWIST corpus are employed to refer to the sounds occurring during the act of sexual intercourse. In the following example, the speaker talks about her sex life with her husband acknowledging that her doctor advised them to have sexual intercourse more frequently and free from any birth control method.

Context: Infertility
(D=Dilek, Nevin=N)

- (1) D: *Değil mi? Ama inanmayacaksınız o zamana kadar hani çocukları çok severim ama, hep sanki atıyordum. Yani, daha sonra diye...Çok önemli oldu böyle birdenbire çocuk sahibi olmak. Dedim ki bende “Aa çocuk sahibi olamıycam, bu çok önemli bir sey. Olamazsam ne olur falan.*
- N: *Tabi, tabi.*
- D: *Ay, biz yemedik, içmedik. **Atiti, patiti**, (ellerini ileri geri hareket ettirir) inanmıyacaksınız.*
- D: Isn't it so? But believe it or not, I had been postponing it until that event, though I like children a lot. I mean saying later, later...Then it became very important to have a child. I started to say I won't be able to have a baby, it is very important for me. What would happen if I could not etc.
- N: Sure, sure
- D: Well, we didn't eat and drink, but we did only **choo choo choo, choo** (Moving her hands back and forth) you may not believe...

Here Dilek tries to create both visual and auditory imagery by creating onomatopoeic sounds to denote sexual intercourse. By moving her hand back and forth, she visualizes the work of an engine, a locomotive by producing sounds “*atiti patiti, atiti patiti*”.

6.2.2 Phonemic Modification

This means modification and alteration of the form of the offensive words according to certain rules. Among the wide range of phonemic modifications, only phonemic replacement exists in the TWIST corpus.

6.2.2.1 *Phonemic Replacement*

Phonemic replacement stands for euphemistic mispronunciation. That is to say, offensive words are modified or changed by phonemic replacement, omission and/or insertion. Consider the following examples in the TWIST corpus in Table 2.

Table 2

Phonemic replacement in the form of euphemism

Phonemic Replacement	Process
<i>Siktir</i> → <i>İttir</i>	(deletion of /s/ and replacement of /t/ with /k/)
<i>Göt</i> → <i>Döt</i>	(replacement of /g/ with /d/)
<i>Bok-</i> → <i>Mok</i>	(replacement of /b/ with /m/)
<i>Popo</i> → <i>Toto</i>	(replacement of /p/ with /t/)

As it can be seen in the examples (Table 2), it is possible to talk about multiple operations to distort the form of the offensive words. As an exception, the last example features over-euphemism. Although *popo* is a rather euphemistic, polite version of buttocks, it has undergone another modification to decrease the unpleasantness of the word.

6.2.3 Loan Words

In the case of sensitive topics, switching from the native language to a foreign language may help to diminish the difficulty of articulating undesirable words. This is a typical way of constructing euphemism especially in the Groningen setting. Women tend to use Dutch terms as they talk about genital organs during their narration. However, inclusion of these cases may be disputable, as the reason for this usage may not be purely euphemistic. They simply may not remember a proper Turkish term for body parts and genital organs. For instance, a Dutch term, 'baarmoeder' used in place of *rahim* (womb) in Turkish and an English term "penis" instead of the male genital organ. Dutch slang verb "neuken" is also used in case of anger or a critical situation to refer to sexual intercourse. Actually this Dutch verb is highly vulgar to articulate in a public speech, but its negative effect is released and softened as it is a loan word. Those examples are rather rare when compared to the amount of other euphemistic formations.

6.2.4 Semantic Innovations

According to Warren (1992) semantic innovation refers to the creation of a novel contextual meaning from the available set of meanings. Similarly, Clark and Clark (1979) mention "contextual expressions" whose senses rely on the time, place, and circumstances in which they are uttered. Clark (1992:310) puts forward that "most contextual expressions are word innovations that are formed from well established words or morphemes".

6.2.4.1 Particularization

Particularization, a frequently used device to form a euphemism is to employ a general term in which its context has to be particularized to make sense. In Warren's (1992:138) terms, "the referents of the euphemistic sense must be a subcategory of the referents of the dictionary sense from which it derives". Warren mentions four types of particularization in the sense of retrieving some particular argument, retrieving the manner, retrieving a relevant subcategory and the subcategory of an argument. It is possible to discern different examples of particularization in the TWIST corpus such as nouns retrieving a relevant subcategory in Table 3, Table 4 and Table 5 respectively:

Table 3
Particularization in NP form

Established Sense	Euphemistic Sense
<i>İş</i> (business)	sexual intercourse
<i>Vaziyet</i> (situation)	sexual intercourse
<i>Konu</i> (subject)	sexual intercourse
<i>Bez</i> (cloth)	pad
<i>Kız</i> (Girl)	virgin
<i>Kızlık</i> (hymen)	virginity
<i>Evlilik</i> (marriage)	sex life
<i>Kırmızı lamba</i> (red light)	brothel

Table 4
Particularization in Adjectival form

Established Sense	Euphemistic Sense
<i>Mor ve buruşuk</i> (purple and wrinkled)	male genital organ

Table 5
Particularization in VP form

Established Sense	Euphemistic Sense
<i>Beraber Olmak</i> (to be (together))	sexual intercourse
<i>Yatmak</i> (to lie down)	sexual intercourse
<i>Yatağa girmek</i> (to enter into the bed)	sexual intercourse
<i>Karı koca olmak</i> (to become husband and wife)	sexual intercourse
<i>Yıkanmak</i> (to take a (canonical) shower)	sexual intercourse
<i>Bez görmek</i> (to see the pieces of cloth)	virginity control
<i>Çarşaf görmek</i> (to see the sheet)	virginity control
<i>Yatak toplamak</i> (to make the bed)	virginity control
<i>Kirlenmek</i> (to get dirty)	menstruation
<i>Hastalanmak</i> (to get sick)	menstruation
<i>Kalkmak</i> (to raise (penis))	to get an erection

6.2.4.2 Metaphors

“If a word is applied to referents which are not in its conventional class of referents, it is felt to have a non-literal meaning. If the justification for this switch of referent set is that the new type of referent has at least one property in common with the old type” (Warren, 1992:146). In other words, it is the act of giving a thing a name that belongs to something else. Ortony (1975) states three communicative functions that metaphor might serve. Firstly, metaphors allow people to express difficult or impossible words. “Inexpressibility”, then, constitutes an encouraging support for the necessity of metaphors in critical situations. A second possible function of metaphors is that they provide a compact means of communication by conveying a great deal of information encapsulated within the lexical items. Finally, metaphors help to build a more vivid picture of a situation or a state than might be expressed by a direct mode of communication. Taboos constitute a good domain for studying metaphor production to express displeasing and offensive words. Table 6 presents some examples from the corpus.

Table 6
Metaphoric expressions used to replace taboo words

Expression	Metaphoric Sense	Evaluative Sense
<i>Deprem</i> (Earthquake)	Sexual intercourse	similarity as movement
<i>Fındık</i> (Nut)	(female) genital organ	similar in shape
<i>Horoz</i> (Cock)	masculinity	similar in sex
<i>Eşek</i> (Donkey)	males harsh in sex	similarity in character
<i>Kurt</i> (Wolf)	male successful in sex	similarity in attribution
<i>Kuzu</i> (Lamb)	male unsuccessful in sex	similarity in manner
<i>Bağlanmak</i> (To be tied)	to be sexually incapable	incapacity of erection
<i>Çözölmek</i> (To be untied)	to be sexually active	capacity of erection
<i>Uyanmak</i> (To wake up)	to get an erection (penis)	similarity in action
<i>Kızlık patlaması</i> (Explosion of hymen)	Being a woman	similarity in severity
<i>Aslan ağzı</i> (Lion's mouth)	(female) genital organ	both difficult to attain

6.2.4.3 Metonyms

Metonymy can be considered as a “name-change” in which the name of one thing that is closely associated with another is used in the place of it. Lakoff and Turner (1989:103) state that “via metonymy, one can refer to one entity in a schema by referring to another entity in the same schema”. Metonymy expresses contiguity, possession, degree, proximity. The important thing here is to belong to the same group, species, etc. Synecdoche can be included in metonymy, and it refers to the

substitution of the part for the whole or of the whole for the part. Some theorists identify a particular kind of metonym as synecdoche. Roman Jakobson argues that whilst both of these involve a part standing for a whole, in metonymy the relation is internal (sail for ship) whereas in synecdoche the relation is external (pen for writer) (see in Lechte, 1994:63). In recent cognitive linguistics discussion, the sharp line between the partonomy (the part-of relation) and the taxonomy (the kind-of relation) is generalized (see Eco, 1984; Tversky, 1990). Hence, the range of metonymy was expanded and synecdoche has been regarded as a subtype of metonymy.

The corpus is quite productive, especially in the case of whole-part relation in order to denote genital organs, as illustrated in Table 7.

Table 7

Metonymic expressions

Expression	Metonymic Sense Represents Part
<i>Organlar</i> (organs)	Genital organs
<i>Alt taraf</i> (Lower part)	Genital organs
<i>Alt</i> (Below)	Genital organs
<i>Arka</i> (Behind)	Anus
<i>Vücut</i> (Body)	Male/female genital organ
<i>Baş</i> (Head)	Male genital organ

Ham (2001:21) argues that the contextually dependent expression “thing” [male/female sexual organs etc.] can be considered as metonymic. In Turkish the expression *şey* (thing) is used in the form of a “euphemistic filler” or a substitute element especially in critical situations. It functions as a reference to objects, events, actions and situations, and gives vagueness to the meaning due to a number of alternatives it provides. In our study, *şey* as a euphemistic filler appears to be the most common euphemistic device used to refer to genital organs, sexual intercourse, nuptial night. Here is an example from our corpus:

“*Şey*” in replace with sexual intercourse and male genital organ:

Context: Nuptial night

(İ=İnci, Ş= Şeyma)

- (2) İ: *Eşim bağlı çıktı, biz iki gece şey olmadı.*
 Int: *Ne demek bağlı çıktı?*
 İ: *Nası bağlı çıkıyorlar yenge?*
 Ş: *Bağlarmış. Nikah oluyo, hoca nikahı*
 İ: *İmam nikahı olurken bağlarmış eş eşi eşimizi... Yani şeyleri o gece kalkmıyomuş*
- İ: My husband was tied, we, *şey* (sexual intercourse) didn't happen for two nights.
 Int: What do you mean by he was tied?
 İ: How do they become tied auntie? (Asking to another speaker)

- Ş: They are said to get tied. When the marriage takes place, I mean when the religious ceremony takes place.
- İ: When we get married someone is said to tie our hus hus husbands... I mean their *şey* (penis) does not become erect that night.

6.2.4.4 Implications

Warren (1992:143) defines implications as “the connection between the conventional and novel sets of referents is that of an antecedent to a consequent (if x is valid, then y is (probably) valid too”. She also points out the differences between particularizations and implications in that implications unlike particularizations can be secondary senses. Moreover, novel referents must be properly included in the conventional set of referents in case of particularizations, whilst this need not be so in the case of implications. Here are some examples from the data illustrated in Table 8.

Table 8

Analysis of implications with respect to established sense and euphemistic sense

Expression	Established Sense (If)	New Euphemistic Sense (Then)
<i>Eli eline değmek</i> (to touch someone's hand)	to become closer	to have sex
<i>Mutlu etmek</i> (to make someone happy)	to satisfy	to satisfy one sexually
<i>Vermek</i> (to give)	to give	to agree on sex
<i>Almak</i> (to take)	to obtain	to persuade to have sex

6.2.5 Other Categories that were Added to Warren's Model

6.2.5.1 Elliptical Structures

Elliptical structures stand for grammatically incomplete expressions that require the reader to add concepts in order to finish the thought. Taboo topics require deliberate omission of some aspect of language form whose meaning is unpleasant, distasteful, but can be understood from the context of that form. In this way, the speaker gets rid of the burden of using these words and triggers the inference mechanism of the hearers. Hence, the communication is handled smoothly through a tacit agreement of “guess work” between the parties. The examples below are offered to illustrate elliptical structures on taboo topics where the speakers very often delete some words that they avoid to articulate references, such as male/female genital organs and sexual intercourse.

Context: Nuptial night
(S= Saniye, G=Gülderen)

- (3) S: *Çok korkmuştum. Aklam dedi ki tam gidecek aman bacım eh kimseye bi eh ah çıhartma, o bu gece olsun.*
 Int: *Ele güne karşı.*
 S: *He, ele güne karşı dişini sık, bu gece olsun.*
 G: *Yani naapin, edin bu işi bitirin.*
 S: *Ha, bitirin. Ondan sona, biz eh S. direkman yapmak, ondan aklam gitti, herkes gitti direk yapmak. Ben istemedim. Ben ilk basta konuşmak istedim, o direk o işi... (gülerek) Ben istemiyodum.*
- S: I was really scared. Just before leaving, my sister said "oh my sister uhm, don't give a single squeak, uhm, let him make it tonight".
 Int: For form's sake.
 S: Yeah, for the form's sake, just tolerate him patiently and let it happen tonight.
 G: So, she means do your best to finish this business not to be evocative in our environment.
 G: Yeah it means finish this business no-matter what happens.
 S: Huhum, finish Ø[it/sexual intercourse].Then, S Ø [wanted] to do Ø [it/sexual intercourse] immediately.Then, my sister left, everyone left, he immediately Ø [wanted] to do Ø [sex]. I didn't want Ø [sex]. I firstly wanted to speak, but he immediately Ø [wanted to do] that business... I didn't want Ø [it/sex]

In the following example speaker L omits the rest of the sentence by stopping it in midcourse so that the statement is unfinished. L mentions that she usually takes the initiative in her sex life with her husband. While she is talking about her manner to persuade her husband, she does not complete her last sentence and leaves the rest of her story to imagination of the hearer.

Context: Sex life
(N=Nehir)

- (4) N: *Ben yani öyle zaman oluyo ki A. dönüyo sırtını yatıyo, ben ona başlıyom, hadi şöyle böyle. Arkadan önden gıdıklarken gıdıklarken, ben onu...*
- N: I sometimes, I mean, A turns his back and sleeps. Then, I start to initiate, come on, I say this, I say that. **As I tickle and tickle his back and so forth...**

6.2.5.2 Circumlocution

As the name implies, circumlocution refers to "talking around" something, usually by supplying a descriptive phrase in place of a name. Circumlocutions are

mainly useful as euphemisms in conversational situations to hint at something without stating it. The following cases illustrate the situation in the TWIST corpus. Consider the following examples from our corpus in Table 9.

Table 9
Circumlocutions in the form of euphemistic constructions

Expression	New Euphemistic Sense
<i>İki bacak arası</i> (The place between the two legs)	Male/female genital organs
<i>Erkeklerde olan</i> (The thing that men have)	Male genital organ/penis
<i>Daha önce görmediğin bir şey</i> (The thing that you never saw before)	Male genital organ/penis
<i>Kadınların yaşadığı şey</i> (The thing that women experience)	menstruation
<i>Her ay başına gelen şey</i> (The thing that you experience every month)	menstruation
<i>Her evli kadının yaşadığı şey</i> (The thing every (married) woman experienced)	nuptial night event

6.2.5.3 Deictic Expressions

Indexical expressions are those expressions whose references depend on time, place and the local circumstances in which they are uttered and/or those to which they apply. Having shifting references, indexical expressions allow a speaker to say that x means what I say it means and, at the same time, x also means what you think it means (Garfinkel and Sacks, 1970). Objective expressions are, thus, formed in such a way that the speaker and the hearer have a tacit agreement on which the meaning of x would be eligible for the present situations. Turkish women widely employ indexical expressions (especially there, it) to refer to genitalia in their narratives. In relation to euphemistic use of indexical expressions I have the following example from our corpus:

Context: Menstruation
(S=Saniye)

- (5) S: [...] *Ondan sonra ben olmuştum, tuvalete gittim işte **orda** bi kanama olduğunu farkettim. [...] Ondan sona yengem vardı bi tane köyden gelme, bu baska bi yengem. O bana dedi ki yoh gız gorhma ,salak dedi, bi şey değil dedi, bez verdi. Bezi napacağımı da bilmiyorum, **orana** koy dedi.*
- S: [...] Then I had had my period. I went to the toilet and I realized that **there**/that place was bleeding. Then I had an aunt coming from a village, this was my other aunt. She said don't get scared idiot! It is not important she said and gave me a piece of rag. I didn't know what to do with that rag. Put it **there** she said.

Likewise, some reduplications containing indexical expressions and/or demonstratives (*Şöyle şöyle, böyle böyle, şu bu, şöyle böyle*) are employed to denote the manner of actions related with the taboo topics implicitly. A detailed analysis of euphemistic reduplications will be given in the following section.

6.3 Euphemistic Reduplications

Reduplication constructions are often employed as an equivocal alternative to a dispreferred expression. Unfavorable expressions are thus concealed by ambiguity. In this section, I am concerned with euphemistic expression in line with protective self-presentation, where speakers are not trying to make a favorable impression or fend off an attack to their face, but try to avoid damage to their established or assumed social identities.

A very effective strategy of protective self-presentation is minimal self-disclosure, which allows the speaker to avoid revealing personal information without offending their interlocutor by a flat-out refusal. Self-disclosure is defined as “information about oneself that is verbally communicated to another” (Holtgraves, 1990: 192), and is an important factor in interpersonal relations. Coates (1996) discusses self-disclosure as a key component of women friendship underlying the fact that disclosing personal information is always risky, but is at the same time an important element in close relationships. Sousa-Poza and Rohrberg (1976) distinguish direct from indirect disclosures. Direct self-disclosures are utterances expressing a speaker’s self-view explicitly (‘I am proud of myself’), whereas indirect disclosures can only be inferred by the hearer (e.g., pride can be inferred from ‘I won last year’s college championship in chess’). Apart from these kinds of observation, little systematic attention has been paid to the language of self-disclosure and the question of how people do or do not self-disclose, although self-disclosure has been a topic of research for over thirty years within the domain of social, personality, and clinical psychology and communication studies (Holtgraves, 1990).

The readiness to self-disclose depends on the intimacy of the participants, situational factors, and, importantly, the sensitivity of the topic of conversation. Catania (1999), for instance, reports respondents’ reluctance to self-disclose in sexological interviews, evidenced in refusals to answer, falsifications of answers, and so forth, when questioned about miscarriage, masturbation, abortion, sexual dysfunction, extramarital sex, rape, same gender sex, and anal intercourse (see also Catania et al., 1996; Catania, 1997). Such questions thus constitute serious threats to the respondent’s face.

The collectivist norms of Turkish society that impinge especially on women strongly discourage self-disclosure on sexual topics. Yet, those cultural norms can also be used to prevent refusals as described by Catania. By arranging a situation where custom and values discourage uncooperative behavior, I elicited talk on women’s health that involved disclosures on rather sensitive topics, which were produced with a variety of protective self-presentation strategies. In this section, I will focus on one of those strategies: the euphemistic use of vague reduplicative structures.

Euphemistic reduplications require full participation of the listeners as ‘guess workers’ in Leech’s terms (1983: 30). The implicature created by ambiguous expressions forces the listeners to infer the most likely interpretation. Since all implicatures are probabilistic (Leech, 1983), this fact always provides the speaker with an opportunity to reject listeners’ interpretations of what she meant. The speaker can thus defer some of the responsibility for the talk to her listeners.

This tactic also allows speakers to reflect their implicit reluctance to share personal information. With this purpose, speakers do not openly refuse to answer, but they follow an informal rational problem-solving strategy through vague expressions in the form of reduplications. Moreover, euphemistic reduplications stimulate the notion of cooperation as a minimal condition among people using language on critical topics. Respondents ostensibly follow the rules of interaction by pretending to answer questions without any refusals, but with uncertain, indecisive expressions through reduplications. They employ circumlocution (Goffman, 1967) with the help of reduplications to manage face-threatening questions.

6.3.1 Euphemistic Use of Vague Reduplication

Structures in Turkish

The Turkish language offers a rich repertoire of reduplications, which are generally restricted to informal spoken discourse. My investigation will include reduplication with m-sound, *şu bu, şöyle böyle, böyle böyle, şöyle şöyle*, and *falan filan*. Reduplications generally require the immediate repetition of a word or part of a word; some reduplicative structures, however, so-called “separate reduplications” (Hatiboğlu 1981: 23), allow VP-insertion inside and after the reduplicative expressions, as in *şöyle oldu böyle oldu* (“it happened this way, it happened that way”) or *şunu dedi bunu dedi* (“he/she said this, he/she said that”). This kind of reduplication is the most frequent in our data.

Generally, reduplications have been treated as grammatical or semantic objects considered to be used to express intensity, plurality, repetition or continuation, or diminution (see Key, 1965; Moravcsik, 1978; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Kiyomi, 1995). The conventionalized reduplication structures in Turkish all involve expressions that function as semantically unspecific placeholders for more specific, often longer and more detailed expressions. Their reference has to be deduced from the context and from the participants’ socio-cultural and interpersonal common ground. This enables them to be used as shorthand devices with a possible positive-politeness function (by virtue of invoking common ground, cf. BL, 1987), but also makes them available for euphemistic reference to unpleasant or taboo subject matter.

I will illustrate euphemistic and time/effort-saving uses with two examples from our interviews with Turkish women, first a euphemistic use (example (6)), then a ‘neutral’ time/effort-saving use (example (7)).

Context: Nuptial night (sensitive topic)

(T=Tijen)

- (6) *Int: Size hiç kimse bir şey anlatmadı mı? Yani dini yönden de mesela?*
T: İşte şöyle yapacan, böyle yapacan. Şunu şöyle yapın bunu böyle yapın. Gideceğimiz gün söylediler, önceden hazırlanmadık da.
- Int: Didn't anyone ever talk with you about the sex? I mean, at least about the religious aspect?*
T: So, you will do it this way, you will do it that way. Do this this way, do that that way. They explained everything on the day we left. We didn't prepare beforehand.

The implicit interpersonal meanings in these utterances can be paraphrased as follows:

- I use the reduplication because I do not want to give the details about my personal life (minimal self-disclosure).
- I use the reduplication because I want to signal my reluctance to speak further on this topic (minimal self-disclosure and negative politeness).
- I use the reduplication, as a “token agreement” (BL, 1987) or to avoid disagreement with you on being involved in this interaction, rather than a blatant “no” (protecting hearer’s positive face).
- I use the reduplication because I don’t want to use dispreferred expressions in front of you (politeness for the sake of speaker’s positive face and for hearer’s negative face).
- I use the reduplication, because I want you to infer the meaning of my utterance. I employ indirectness through ambiguity. I always have a chance to say “I didn’t mean that” (addressing speaker’s and hearer’s positive face).

Context: Marriage story of a woman (innocuous topic)
 (A=Aydan)

- (7) *Int: Ee, görücü usulüyle evlendiniz. Hiç görmediniz mi yani?*
A: Hayır, zaten annem babam görmüştü. Çevredekiler fulan filan. Yani iyi dediler, şöyle dediler, böyle dediler.
- Int: So, you got married by arranged marriage. I mean, didn't you ever see him before?*
A: No, but my parents had already seen him. Those people around me etc. I mean they all said he is a nice one, they said this, they said that.

Here the same reduplication as above is used in a neutral context and now conveys different interpersonal meanings:

- I use the reduplication because I do not want to waste time and effort on the further details.
- I use the reduplication because I do not want to bore you with the details.
- I use the reduplication, because I want to trigger your “inference mechanism” thus inviting a joint construction of meaning.

When respondents become distressed due to experiencing negative emotional reactions to questions in sensitive topics, they may begin to change their self-presentation in a way that reduces threat or distress. In talk on innocuous topics, reduplications are often used to save time or effort, whereas in sensitive topics they are mostly used euphemistically to avoid undesirable expressions.

6.3.2 Uses of Reduplication Constructions

In this section I will discuss the lexico-grammatical characteristics and the uses of the six reduplication constructions I identified in my data: reduplication with m-sound, *şu bu*, *şöyle böyle*, *böyle böyle*, *şöyle şöyle*, and *falan filan*. Table 10 provides an overview of their translations and conversational English equivalents. I will argue that each one of them can be used in a pragmatically ‘neutral’ way as a time- or effort-saving device, but can also serve the speaker’s protective self-presentation by euphemistically skirting a bothersome issue. In illustrating the range of uses of reduplications, I use fictitious examples along with instances from my corpus.

Table 10
Reduplication constructions in Turkish and conversational English equivalents

Constructions	Translations and Conversational English Equivalents
reduplication with <i>m</i>	and so on, so-and-so such, kind of, sort of
<i>şu bu</i>	(lit.) that this; sort of, kind of, so-and-so; and so on, or something like that
<i>şöyle böyle</i>	such and such a, about, kind of, and so on
<i>böyle böyle</i>	in this way, in this manner, things like that; blah blah blah (in quotes)
<i>şöyle şöyle</i>	like this, in this way, such and such
<i>falan filan</i>	and so on, so-and-so, such, kind of, sort of, and things like that

6.3.2.1 Reduplication with m-sound

This reduplication consists of repeating a word, but prefixing it with an m-sound in the second token. If the initial sound is a vowel, the process is accomplished by m-insertion. Otherwise, the first consonant of word is replaced with m-sound. The structure usually involves nouns, but other word classes, for instance, verbs or adjectives, can also be reduplicated in this way. In its realization, the second token retains the number and agreement features of the original word.

- (8) *kitap mitap* (consonant initial NP)
book (NP) mook (NP)

Semantically, reduplication with m-sound means ‘and so on’, ‘so-and-so’, ‘such’, ‘kind of’, ‘sort of’ depending on the meaning of the first part of the reduplicative form being ahead of m-insertion. The designation of the meaning of whole reduplication is construed as a natural semantic extension of this original form. For instance, in the following example:

- (9) *Dün kitap mitap aldım.*
 Yesterday, books and so on I bought. (paraphrase: Yesterday, I bought books and things).

The meaning of *kitap mitap* is defined by the meaning of *kitap*, the original form within reduplication. The second part of the reduplication invites the hearer to construct a set of similar items as the referent (in this case probably school materials) for the expression ‘mitap’, which is not a regular lexical item of the Turkish language.

Reduplication with m-sound allows the speaker to give less than the amount of information requested, while still appearing cooperative. It indicates that the speaker does not wish to specify or elaborate, but instead appeals to the participants’ common ground for inferring the intended meaning. In this way the speaker can save time and unnecessary processing effort for all participants; but she can also allude vaguely (‘euphemistically’) to a taboo referent, as illustrated in example (10) from the TWIST data.

Context: Preference for male or female doctor (innocuous topic with embedded sensitive topic)
 (G= Güler, H=Hesna)

- (10) Int: *Tercihiniz var mı illa bayan olsun erkek olsun?*
 [...]
 G: *Ne bileyim gadından adam çekinmiyo. Erkek olunca çekiniliyo yani.*
 H: *Valla, yat deyince yatıveriyom, hiç ses etmiyom.*
 <Kahkahalar>
 G: *Yatıyon ya mecbur yani.*
 H: *Evdekine **tepiniyom, mepiniyom** hareket... Buna bi şey demiyom kız! Ona korku belası yat deyince hemen dahtıyom ayahlarımı gancaya.*
- Int: Do you have any preferences [for the gynecologist] as male or female?
 [...]
 G: I don’t know, one does not fear a woman. I mean, a male doctor causes hesitation.
 H: By God! As he says “lie down”, I immediately lie down without any objection.
 <Laughter>
 G: Sure you lie down, you have to.

- H: I **struggle mtruggle** with the one at home, I react... But I don't say anything to HIM! For the fear of darn illness, when he says "lie down", I hang my feet up on the hooks.

In this example, H alludes to resistance against her husband demanding sexual intercourse. The speaker refrains from giving a more exact representation of the events, leaving it to her listeners' inference and imagination. She accomplishes this through the reduplication with m-sound, which thus allows her to reveal intimate information without actually going on record as having done so.

6.3.2.2 Şu bu

This is a very common spoken form of reduplication derived from demonstrative pronouns *şu* ('that') and *bu* ('this'). According to the dictionary of the Turkish Linguistic Society (1988) it means "some people and objects". *Şu bu* appears to play an important role in connection with loose use of language. It generally occurs as object NP or subject NP of an utterance and tolerates derivational suffixation. The structure also allows VP insertion inside or after the *şu bu* construction as in the example *şu geldi bu geldi* ('(some) people came'). Similar to reduplication with m-sound, *şu bu* in post-position means 'and so on', 'so-and-so' 'such', 'kind of', 'sort of' and acts as a natural semantic extension of the speech preceding it. Its function is to furnish flexibility by providing a vague alternative to an unknown, cumbersome, or undesirable more specific expression. The fictitious three examples below illustrate the syntactic options.

- (11) *Şu bu* karışırsa iş yürümez. (as subject NP)
If **others** interfere in (the situation), it does not work.
- (12) *Şu(nu) aldım bu(nu) aldım, tüm paramı bitirdim.* (as object NP)
I bought **this** and I bought **that** and I spent all my money.
- (13) *Doktor bir ilaç şu bu yazdı mı? (Şu bu following a constituent)*
Did the doctor prescribe a medicine or **something like that**?

The following example from our data illustrates the euphemistic use of *şu bu*:

Context: Menstruation
(A= Aydan)
Ex. (14)

- (14) A: *Ya, bu genelde biz ortaokuldaydık. Bizden daha yapılı kızlar vardı. Onlar oluyodu falan. İşte derlerdi ki, işte ağrırsa şu olcaktır, bu olcaktır, yani bi şekilde anlatırlardı bize arkadaş arasında.*

- A: Well, generally, when we were at secondary school, there were girls bigger than us. They had already menstruated and so on. So, they used to say if you have pain, **this will happen, that will happen**. I mean, somehow they used to explain it among friends.

In this example, A avoids specifying the information she got from the older girls. This interpretation is supported by the fact that she adds a paraphrase ('somehow they used to explain it among friends') in which she uses a different vague expression. Apparently she is not minimizing her efforts (using *şu bu* as a shorthand expression), but skirting the 'culturally unsayable' elements of her story with a euphemistic use of *şu bu*.

6.3.2.3 Böyle böyle

Böyle böyle means 'in this way, in this manner' and can be used deictically (see 15 below) or anaphorically in reported speech as a reference to shared knowledge (see 16). In particular, *böyle böyle* can be used as shorthand for standard, understood opening sequences in reported conversations in the form of a cataphoric reference to the subsequent portion of the narration as in (see 17 below). It can also be used in the form of an adverbial that marks a gradual happening (see 18), and it can function as a semantic extension of previous discourse, especially in oral narration, as in (19).

- (15) *Bak, camları **böyle böyle** silersen daha temiz görünüyor.*
Look! If you clean the windows **in this way**, they look much cleaner.
- (16) *Onun yüzünden çektiğim sıkıntıları biliyorsun. Daha fazla dayanamadım. Ertesi gün hemen patrona gittim, durum **böyle böyle** Ahmet Bey dedim.*
You know the troubles I had because of him. I couldn't put up with him anymore. The next day I immediately saw the boss and "the situation is **such and such**, Mr. Ahmet" I said.
- (17) *Doktora gittim, **böyle böyle** doktor bey dedim. Benim ayaklarımdan çok şikayetim var bana ilaç yaz dedim.*
I went to the doctor, "**[blah blah blah]**, Doctor," I said, "I have lots of complaints about my feet. Prescribe me some medicine", I said.
- (18) ***Böyle böyle** bu işi de öğreneceksin.*
Gradually, you will learn this job as well.
- (19) *Küçük kız bütün günü ormanda geçirdi. Çiçek topladı, kuşlarla sohbet etti, ırmak kıyısındaki kurbağaları izledi. **Böyle böyle**, saatler çabucak ilerledi, hava kararmaya başladı.*
The little girl spent the whole day in the forest. She picked some flowers, talked with the birds and watched the frogs on the riverbank. **In that manner**, the time passed rapidly and it started to get dark.

The following example from our data shows a euphemistic use of *böyle*:

Context: Menstruation
(Ş=Şeyma)

- (20) Ş: *Ben bilmiyodum yani ben hiç bi şey bilmiyodum yani çocuktum. Anneme söyledim, annem dedi ki tamam dedi, kızım dedi, ben dedi, sana dedi bez vereyim dedi.*
 Int: *Him. Anlatmadı yani size.*
 Ş: *Anlatmadı. Sadece öyle verdi, ondan sonra bunu **böyle böyle** kullan dedi.*
- Ş: I didn't know, I mean, I really didn't know anything. I told to my mum. Mum said okay, she said, my girl, she said, let me, she said, give you a pad, she said.
 Int: Mhm. So she did not tell you anything.
 Ş: No, she didn't. She only gave it to me and said use it **this way**.

In (20) the speaker reports her mother's explanation how to use a sanitary pad, but avoids actually repeating the words. *Böyle böyle* in this example denotes manner and refers to common knowledge between the interviewer and Ş, who are both women. Ş thus assumes that a female hearer should know about the details of menstruation and can thus easily infer the content of a mother's explanation about how to use a sanitary pad. In this way, the speaker avoids this unpleasantly intimate issue.

6.3.2.4 *Şöyle böyle*

Şöyle böyle can be used to signal looseness in the use of a wide range of different sentence elements. In general, *şöyle böyle* provides a blurred expression rather than giving clear-cut, straightforward explanations in describing manner, situation or state. The seven uses of *şöyle böyle* with fictitious examples below illustrate the grammatical options in using *şöyle böyle*.

- (21) *Şöyle böyle* with numerals
Şöyle böyle 9 yıldır Hollanda'da yaşıyorum.
 I have been living in the Netherlands for **about** nine years.
- (22) *Şöyle böyle* as an adjectival phrase:
 A: *İngilizcen nasıl?*
 B: **Şöyle böyle**
 A: How is your English?
 B: **Not so good/bad.** (So, so)
- (23) *Şöyle ... böyle* as an adjectival phrase preceding NP
Şöyle araba **böyle** araba diye tanıtıldılar, ben de aldım.

They promoted it as **such and such** a car and I bought it.

- (24) *Şöyle ... böyle* as an adjectival phrase preceding Adj
Şöyle yakışıklı böyle yakışıklı
 He is **this much** handsome, **that much** handsome.
- (25) *Şöyle ... böyle* as an adverbial phrase preceding VP
Şöyle denedim böyle denedim, sorunu çözdüm.
 I tried **this way and that way**, and solved the problem.
- (26) *Şöyle böyle* as a semantic extension
Evi temizledim, bulaşıkları yıkadım, ütü yaptım şöyle böyle derken hava karardı.
 I cleaned the house, washed the dishes, ironed, **and so forth**, and then it got dark.
- (27) *Şöyle böyle* as a semantic extension with direct quotation
“Ben okumak istemiyorum, çalışmak istiyorum, evleneceğim şöyle böyle” bir sürü şey söyledi.
 “I don’t want to attend my school, I want to work, I will get married, **and so forth**” he said many things.

Again I provide an example of euphemistic use from our data:

Context: Nuptial night

(A=Aydan)

- (28) A: *Bi Zehra Ablâ vardı. Yanıma oturdu bi şeyler söyledi. İşte “şöyle olur, böyle olur”. [...] Yani işte evlilikte “şu olur bu olur, şöyle olur, böyle olur” deyince yani bi an duraksadım.*
- A: There was a woman, Zehra. She sat next to me and talked about many things. I mean, **“you should do it this way, you should do it that way.”** [...] I mean when she said that in a marriage “this happens or that happens, and **it happens this way or that way**”, I was perplexed.

In this example, reduplication with *şöyle böyle* (and, not marked by bolding here, with *şu bu*) indicates that A is not intending a literal interpretation of her utterance. It could be argued in this case that the reduplication construction stands in place of an extensive stretch of talk and thus serves as a shorthand reference to what was actually said. It is very clear, however, that A distances herself emphatically from the contents of this quoted speech (witness, for instance, comments “I was perplexed”), suggesting that she avoids repeating the exact wording and contents. I have therefore considered this a euphemistic use.

6.3.2.5 Şöyle şöyle

According to the dictionary of the Turkish Linguistic Society (1988), *şöyle* means ‘like this’ or ‘in this way’. *Şöyle şöyle* is mainly used deictically to denote manner and style in describing an action. The interpretation can be contextually given by gestures. Like *böyle böyle*, it can also be used as a referring expression in reported speech to mark known, understood, or contextually given information. The following two examples illustrate.

- (29) *Oğlum, şöyle şöyle yazsana! Neden kalemi düzgün tutmuyorsun?*
My son, write **like this**! Why don’t you hold the pencil properly?
- (30) *Polise gittim, şöyle şöyle marka ve renkte arabam kayıp dedim.*
I went to the police and said that my car of **such and such** color and brand is missing.

In the first example above the speaker demonstrates the proper way to write, using *şöyle şöyle* to refer indexically to her physical demonstration. In the second example, the speaker omits the car’s color as irrelevant detail. In both cases, the most plausible interpretation of the pragmatic function of *şöyle şöyle* is that of a time/effort-saving device. Example (31) from our data illustrates a euphemistic use of this reduplication construction.

Context: Nuptial night
(G=Güler, İ=İmdat, H=Hesna)

- (31) *Int: E, peki sonra, ev evlendiniz hayatınızda adamın eli elinize değmemiş, başka erkek eli de değmemiş. Bi adamla birlikte aynı yatağa girdiniz, o gece. Kimse size birşey anlattı mı? Kızım bak böyle yapacaksın, abdest alacaksın. Birisi size bi yol gösterdi mi?*
G: Yoh, valla bana hiç gösteren olmadı.
İ: Bana da gösteren olmadı hiç.
Int: Kimse bi şey söylemedi?
İ: Kimse bi şey söylemedi.
Int: E, arkadaşlarınızdan vs. Size anlattılar mı?
H: Şimdi hep annatıyollar da o zaman heç annatmadılar.
G: Kızları yanı koymazlardı yanında ihm, şey beller diye...
H: Benim yanıma kız bile getirmedi. [...]
Ben geldim ondan sonra söylemesi ayıp neyse herşey oldu neyse. Girdim banyuya banyu yapıyorum. Lan, hıh ben yıkanmayı ya bilmiyorum! Nası yıkanılıyo? Bana dedi, sen mi bilmiyon? dedi. Baban dedi, hacı dedi, bana dedi yol mu yapıyon dedi. Ulan, valla bilmiyom babamın günahı sana dedim. O da dedi, şöyle şöyle olacak dedi. Öyleliyinen odur budur işte...
Int: Okay, then you got married to a man whose hand you hadn’t touched before. You were inexperienced. You shared the same bed with this

- man that night. Didn't anyone tell you anything, saying look my girl, you will do this or you will take the canonical shower... Didn't anyone teach you anything?
- G: No, I swear, no one taught me anything.
- İ: No one taught me either.
- Int: Didn't anyone ever tell you anything?
- İ: No one told me anything.
- Int: Uhm, some of your friends, did they tell you anything?
- H: Now they are telling everything, but in our times, they didn't.
- G: They didn't let the girls sit with the women, as they might have learned inappropriate things.
- H: I didn't even speak with the girls. [...]
I arrived home as a bride for the first time then, it is a shame to say, [neyse] well it happened [neyse]. I went to the bathroom. I was having a bath. Oh! I didn't know how to take a shower. How could I take a canonical shower? He said to me, don't you know? he said. Your father, he said, is a pilgrim, he said. Are you deceiving me? he asked. Hey! I really don't know. The sin of my father will be upon your neck, I said. Then he said, you should **do it in this way**. So since then...

Hesna in example (31) avoids giving the details about the canonical shower bath, invoking common knowledge instead, to have her listeners infer her intended meaning. The canonical shower is a detailed religious ritual and a very private issue at the beginning of a woman's sexual life. The speaker mentioned it while she was talking about her innocence and naïveté on her nuptial night. Her eagerness to manage this talk without mentioning the intimate details and her reluctance to talk about her nuptial night are also evidenced in her frequent use of *neyse* ("anyway", "anyhow").

6.3.2.6 *Falan filan*

Similar to reduplication with m-sound, *falan filan* means 'and so on', 'so-and-so' 'such', 'kind of', 'sort of' depending on the meaning of the word preceding it. The meaning of *falan filan* is derived as a natural semantic extension of the word preceding it. For instance, in the following fictitious example, it is interpreted as referring to any items that would be likely to be bought along with fruit:

- (32) *Meyva falan filan sakın alma. Evde herşey var.*
Don't buy fruit **and things like that**. We have everything at home.

There are very few instances of *falan filan* in my corpus:

Context: Marriage story of a woman
(A=Aydan)

- (33) *Int: Ee, görücü usulüyle evlendiniz. Hiç görmediniz mi yani?*

- A: *Hayır, zaten annem babam görmüştü. Çevredekiler **falan filan**. Yani iyi dediler, şöyle dediler, böyle dediler.*
- Int: So, you got married by arranged marriage. I mean, didn't you ever see him before?
- A: No, but my parents had already seen him. Those people around me **and so on**. I mean they all said he is a nice one, they said this, they said that.

In example (33), there is no sense of avoidance and thus no question of the reduplication being used euphemistically. The speaker uses *falan filan* simply as a time/effort-saving device.

6.3.3 Distributional Analyses

In this section, I will present distributional evidence supporting my claim that the reduplication constructions investigated in this study often serve the function of protecting the speaker's face and accordingly they occur more in sensitive topics than in innocuous topics. Before I do so, I discuss the corpus of talk and the reliability of my analysis.

6.3.3.1 *Amount of Talk on Sensitive and Innocuous Topics*

The talk in the fourteen transcribed interviews was categorized according to topics. In addition to the global topic structure induced by the interviewer's questions, the topic coding included imbedded occurrences of different topics in the interviewees' answers. The numbers of words spoken on sensitive and innocuous topics was almost equal in both groups, indicating that the interviews succeeded surprisingly well in eliciting talk on sensitive topics. Sensitive topics and innocuous topics accounted for 50.4% and 49.6% of the talk respectively in the Groningen group. Sensitive and innocuous topics covered 49% and 51% of the talk respectively in the Ankara group. Only one of the 53 women refused to answer questions on sensitive topics.

6.3.3.2 *Reliability of the Classification of Reduplications as Euphemistic and Time Saving*

The 67 cases of reduplications (44 in the Ankara group, 23 in the Groningen group) were classified as euphemistic or as time/effort-saving on the basis of our understanding of the speaker's intention in the context of the interview. In addition to drawing on my knowledge of the groups and the speakers of each group, I relied heavily on the discourse context. A reliability test was conducted with 40 cases (60%) in the following way: The cases were presented to 32 academically-trained native speakers of Turkish, who had agreed to serve as co-coders. To keep their task manageable, the cases were divided into four sets, each of which contained ten

instances of reduplications. Each set was given to eight coders. The coders were asked to decide whether the functions of reduplications in the given situations were euphemistic (E) or time/effort-saving (T). A training session consisting of four cases with explanations of the researchers' judgments was given prior to the test.

For 33 of the 40 reduplication examples in the test, the majority (five or more) of the coders agreed with the authors' judgment. The remaining seven cases had all been coded as euphemistic (E) by the authors, but as time/effort-saving devices (T) by the majority of the coders. In total 141 (44%) of the 320 judgments from the coders were T-codings, compared to only 27.5% for our codings. Note that the coders were not instructed as to the percentages of T- and E-cases. They may therefore have expected an equal distribution (50% for each category, as in the training) and thus may have been biased against classifying all our E-cases as euphemistic.

A closer look at the instances where a majority disagreed with my coding shows that they are not associated with just one of the reduplication expressions; they involved *m*-sound (2 cases), *şöyle böyle* (2 cases), *böyle böyle* (2 cases), and *şu bu* (1 case). These problematic cases were reconsidered with more context than was feasible to give to the coders, in order to use a maximum of background information and better understand the group dynamics. The seven cases were also discussed with a group of linguistically-trained native-speakers of Turkish. At the end of this process, four of the seven E-cases were changed to (T). The remaining three cases all came from the fragment cited as example (23) in section 3; I have argued there why I (still) consider those uses of *şu bu* and *şöyle böyle* to be euphemistic.

6.3.3.3 *Sensitive Topics as Triggers of Euphemistic Reduplication*

Figure 2 shows that all forms of reduplication occurred more often in sensitive topic contexts than with innocuous topics in both groups. Overall, 50 of the 63 reduplications were used in sensitive topics. This pattern shown by both groups was 31 of 44 cases (70%) for the Ankara group and 19 out of 23 cases (83%) for the Groningen group.

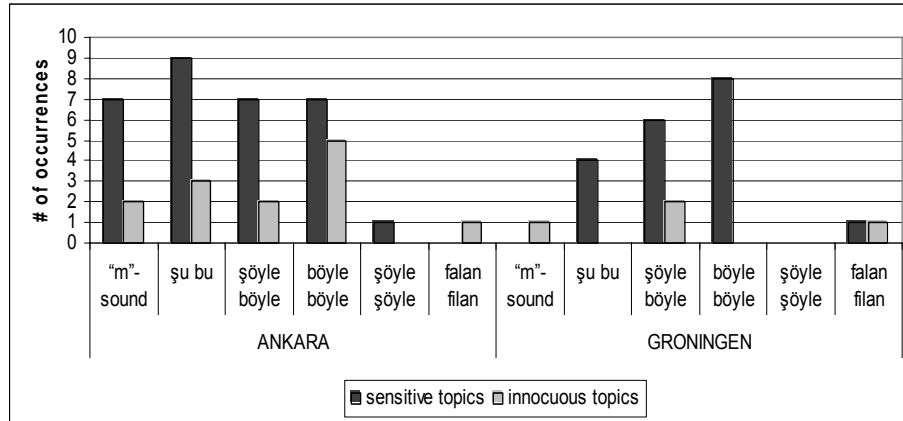


Figure 2. Use of the five types of reduplications in sensitive and innocuous topics in the Ankara and the Groningen groups.

The higher likelihood of reduplications in sensitive topic contexts is not an artifact of more talk on those topics: as noted previously above, sensitive and innocuous topics accounted for roughly the same amounts of talk (50 % each in the Groningen group and 49% versus 51% in the Ankara group). Adjusting the comparison for the difference in number of words, I observed in the Ankara group for an average on 1.69 reduplications per 1000 words in sensitive topics, but only .68 in innocuous topics. And for the Groningen group .66 sensitive topics and .14 for sensitive and innocuous topics respectively.

Turning now to the hypothesis that sensitive topics trigger euphemistic uses of reduplications, I have to show that the increased use of reduplications in the context of sensitive topics is due not to a higher number of time/ effort-saving uses, but to euphemistic uses. Figure 2 shows this to be overwhelmingly the case, with a ratio of 27:0 (for euphemistic versus time/effort-saving uses) in sensitive topics, compared to 4:13 in innocuous topics, a significantly non-random distribution in the Ankara group. The ratio (for euphemistic versus time/effort-saving uses) was 17:2 in the sensitive topics and 0:4 in innocuous topics in the Groningen group.

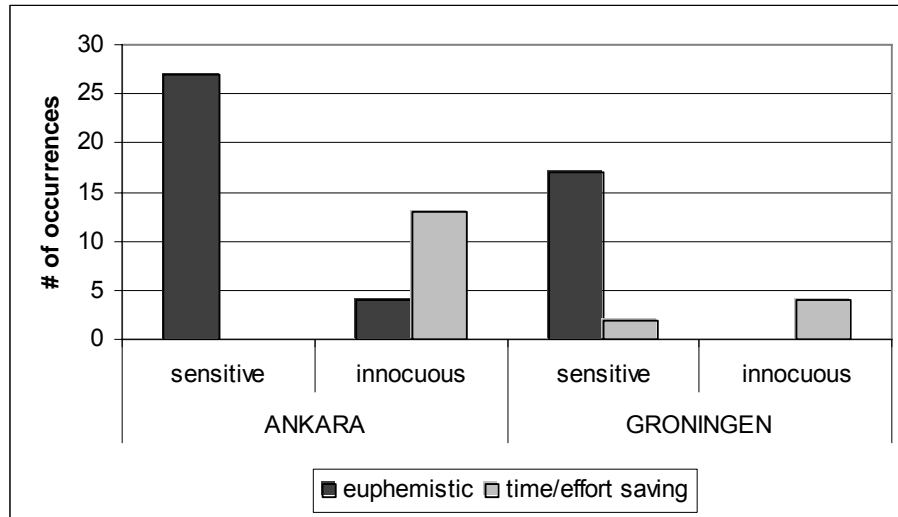


Figure 3. Euphemistic and time/effort-saving reduplications in sensitive and innocuous topics in the Ankara and in the Groningen group.

6.3.3.4 Reduplications in Quoted Speech

While coding our data, I was struck by the abundance of direct quotations in the women's narrative accounts. As I want to interpret the use of euphemisms in terms of protective self-presentation, it seems important to separate the speaker's own text, reporting her own experiences and attitudes, from quoted speech, presenting ('demonstrating' in Clark and Gerrig's 1990 terms) what someone else said in a certain situation. In direct quotation, form and contents of the talk are attributed to the quoted speaker (see, for instance, Coulmas, 1986)

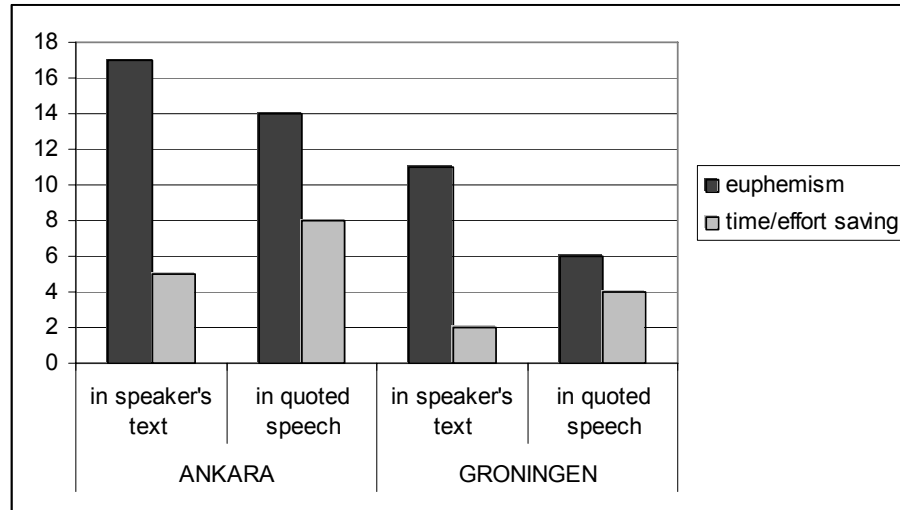


Figure 4. Frequencies of reduplications in speaker's text and in quoted speech in the Ankara and the Groningen groups

The presence of direct quotation thus provides us with an additional testing ground for our interpretation of time-saving and euphemistic uses of reduplications. If what I have labeled euphemistic uses serve self-protective functions, they should occur more frequently in the speakers' own talk than in quoted talk. Figure 4 shows that they do. The speakers' own text contains mostly euphemistic uses of reduplications (17 of the 22 cases or 77.3% in the Ankara group and 13 of the 23 cases or 57% in the Groningen group), compared to a more substantial number of shorthand uses in quoted speech, where only 14 of the 22 uses (63.6%) in the Ankara group and 6 of the 10 uses (60 %) in the Groningen group are euphemistic. This difference may reflect random variation, as it fails to reach statistical significance. Given the small sample size (67 cases), however, it may instead be due to the limited power to detect an effect that may be less pronounced than the one I found for the distribution across sensitive and innocuous topics.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter portrays a range of information on how displacement of self through narration can locate a speaker in a back garden of a society fenced by cultural meanings, normative practices, and social values that create social identity. Hence, what I have tried to show here is the speakers' self-presentation behavior as the artifact of culture-specific normative expectations, which affected their discourse composition and style of interaction. Within this frame, three aspects of indirectness were illuminated: (a) importance of context (b) management of indirectness in social interactions (c) effects of indirectness on interpersonal relationships. The management of face threatening topics is realized through

massive use of indirectness which is, in normal circumstances, considered to be a conventional device of politeness. In this chapter, however, I tried to account for speakers' use of indirectness in terms of self-presentation strategies by showing how they employ indirectness to dissociate themselves from unpleasantness of the situation, and to establish a positive image indicating that they mind the face concerns of both parties of a communicative situation. Hence, indirectness in discourse not only reflects different choices as to formulation of utterances, but also different involvement and identification in an interactional situation.

Moreover, the analysis of a particular kind of euphemistic expressions, Turkish reduplication structures (reduplication with *m*-sound, *şu bu*, *şöyle böyle*, *böyle böyle*, *şöyle şöyle*, and *falan filan*) has shown that speakers use them not only as time/effort-saving shorthand devices, but also employ them strategically to achieve face-saving obliqueness. I have demonstrated this with in-depth discussions of examples from my interview data and with distributional analyses based on a classification that was tested for reliability with a panel of native speakers.

Reduplicative constructions occurred mostly in the context of topics containing a potential risk to the interviewee's face. In those contexts, they were used predominantly as face-saving euphemistic expressions to minimize self-disclosure. Euphemistic uses also occurred slightly more often in utterances that can be attributed to the speaker's own voice than in quoted speech, where there is less need for face protection, as form and content of the utterance are attributed to the quoted speaker.

7 Assertiveness and Sincerity

7.1 Introduction

Establishing a particular, usually a desirable self-image is one of the most important tasks of interpersonal life. People's desire to create good impressions on others entails managing and manipulating these impressions in different ways. In order to achieve a goal in conversation, a speaker often makes a plan or ponders a course of action designed to realize some goals (McLaughlin et al., 1985). People carry out assertive self-presentation tactics to achieve, maintain and improve a positive image on other people's mind. (see Chapter 2 and 4 for details). In Schlenker's (1980:168) terms in the form of assertive self-presentation, "people function as their advertising and public relations firms".

People can try to make themselves appear in a positive light through some linguistic attempts to gain credibility and create self-confirmation of one's past or present words, acts, and opinions. Various scholars (BL, 1987; Haviland, 1989; Masagara, 1997, 2001; Abd el-Jawad, 2000; Beeman, 2001) observed that declaration of sincerity and questioning of truthfulness with the doubt of deceit are frequent vehicles in social interactions, where the addresser may feel the need to swear an oath or to employ a sincerity marker or an intensifier to assert sincerity. This speaker-oriented facework emphasizes volitional or "instrumental" (Gu, 1990) politeness where the speaker is not constrained by a sociolinguistic criteria, but rather personal face concerns. BL (1987) identified a class of expressions they called *sincerity hedges*, which functions to "indicate something about the speaker's commitment toward what he is saying and in so doing, modify the illocutionary force" (1987: 147). BL include *strengtheners* (intensifiers), that mainly act as emphatics, and *weakeners* (hedges in the more narrow sense), that soften or 'tentativize' what they modify. In conversational Turkish, *valla* or *vallahi* (henceforth *valla*), an originally Arabic religious oath meaning (roughly) "I swear by God", and *gerçekten* ('really'), a more contemporary, non-religious sincerity marker and intensifier, can be considered as a conventional means of legitimization or self-validation. *Gerçekten* is perceived as rather formal usage both in oral and written modes of communication, whereas *valla* tends to occur only in informal spoken contexts. *Valla* is functionally more complex than *gerçekten*. While it has

preserved its religious connotation, the literal meaning of the oath has become opaque (see Kansu-Yetkiner forthcoming c).

Both *valla* and *gerçekten* express affective meaning regulating and manipulating interpersonal relationships. *Valla* is functionally more complicated than *gerçekten* and tends to occur in informal spoken contexts. It is very commonly used in daily interactions and thus has lost its religious resonance in Turkish. It helps speakers increase or strengthen their commitment to the truthfulness of their statements. For that reason, *valla* can be conceived as a sincerity marker, intensifier, rather than a rigid oath binding for a speaker. In the case of *valla*, self-presentation is performed by ‘proxy’ as an ultimate authority, God, invoked to defend, to extend, and to promote the speakers’ positive image. Frequent articulation of God’s oath gives the speakers a chance to establish a social image that contributes to their reputation and social adjustment as being religious, decent, honorable and conservative people. *Gerçekten* is observed as formal usage both in oral and written modes of communication. This word was derived from Turkish stem *gerçek* (‘real’) and appeared as a result of Turkish language reform to attain Turkification and simplification of vocabulary and grammar for everyday conversational use instead of using Arabic and Persian loan words. Thus, *gerçekten* can be regarded as a contemporary, nonreligious alternative to *valla*.

This chapter presents an analysis of the linguistic attempts for positive self-presentation to show that politeness can function both as a strategic device employed to perform linguistic action to attain specific communicative goals, and as social indexing. With this purpose, functions and distribution of the sincerity markers *valla* and *gerçekten* will be discussed with respect to their pragmatic and social functions. In the following section, assertiveness and assertive self-presentation in the use of two sincerity markers will be indicated. In section 3, *valla* and *gerçekten* will be further discussed in relation to their socio-pragmatic implications. In section 4, a qualitative analysis of *valla* and *gerçekten* where six functions of these sincerity markers are defined and discussed with respect to syntactic, semantic and pragmatic characterizations will be given. Use of the two sincerity markers in terms of topic sensitivity and functional distribution will be analyzed in section 5. Section 6 provides conclusions and comments based on the analysis of the data.

7.2 Assertiveness and Assertive Speech Act

Rich and Schroder (1976:1082) defined assertiveness as “the skills to seek, maintain or enhance reinforcement in an interpersonal situation through an expression of feelings or wants when such expression risks loss of reinforcement or even punishment”. However there are different definitions of assertiveness with respect to theme and gender. Wilson and Gallous (1993) gathered definitions of assertiveness from popular and academic resources to search for the common themes in the definition of the assertiveness. Assertiveness was found to be the most often defined as involving self-expression. Other common themes were directly and honestly stating one’s views, defending one’s rights, using competent forms of communication, making strong statements and open expression of a contradictory point of view. Wilson and Gallois’s (1993) study revealed the gender

differences in defining assertiveness, where laymen mentioned power and control of others in contrast to laywomen and popular and academic writing. Accordingly, Wilson and Gallois (1993) defined two types of assertive self-presentation by denoting the aggressive approach as “negative assertion” and the one more socially appropriate approach as “positive assertion”. Based on gender stereotypes, where women are considered as submissive, tactful, sneaky, passive, lacking in self-confidence, dependent and unaggressive, people would expect women to employ more positive forms of assertion than men and men to use more negative forms of assertion as compared to women. Carli (1999) indicates that as men more often attain higher leadership positions and have more control over social life than women do, positive assertion is congruent with traditional female gender role and thus corresponds quite closely with prescriptive stereotypes about appropriate behavior for women and girls and gender differences in power. Accordingly, women display higher levels of positive assertion in the form of verbal and nonverbal expressions, supportive and appreciative statements. Hence, results of recent research reveal that both women and men are assertive but they express their assertiveness differently. In truth, “gender differences in assertiveness depend to great extent on the relative power of males and females and vary in accordance with shifts in power” (Carli, 2001:167).

Valla and *gerçekten* can not be considered as gender-specific sincerity markers. They are commonly employed both by men and women as an indicator of assertiveness to enhance and to maintain the achieved level of self-esteem, which is a pattern of roles and statuses related to those other people with whom the speakers interact. In other words, it can be regarded as an attempt contributing to their reputation, their level of social satisfaction and adjustment.

Among the five basic categories of speech acts defined by Searle (1979) the category of assertives includes such speech acts as statements, descriptions, explanations, suggestions and hypotheses. Assertives are also distinguished from other speech act types in that they commit the speaker to the truth of the expressed proposition. According to van Belle (1984) “the degree of this commitment can vary considerably: there is clearly a difference between, for instance, ‘putting something forward as hypothesis’ on the other hand and ‘stating’ and ‘swearing’ on the other”. Searl summarizes the commitment to the truth of the expressed proposition through “preparatory condition”: “The speaker must be in a position to provide evidence or reasons for the truth of the expressed positions. Such a conception implies that the conception of truth is intersubjectively determined and that it has to be acceptable for other persons. Another point that should be to bear in mind that the member of the assertive class of speech acts are also distinguished from other classes by the psychological state they express. In other words, they have to fulfill the ‘sincerity condition’ whereby the speaker ‘believes’ the proposition expressed in the utterance.

Valla stands for the commissive category of illocutionary acts where the speakers not only commit to their statements but also intend to make the hearer think the way they think and make them believe in their truthfulness. In this respect, the perlocutionary function of *valla* (convincing of one’s sincerity) is the self-presentational goal speakers employ to establish a positive image on others. Furthermore, an oath displays a number of different speech acts. Primarily, it can

put forward a view by making a statement on past, present and even future events. The power of an oath is determined by a second speech act, the act of calling upon God or a divine authority as a guarantor or a witness. Finally, an oath brings into view a conditional curse as a third speech act, regardless of whether the curse is articulated or not. In other words, if an oath is proved to be false, God's laws are put into effect for enacting the curse.

Sincerity markers strongly relate to the Gricean Maxim of Quality which states that the speaker's contribution in a communication situation should be true and be supported by adequate evidence. It is clear that both *valla* and *gerçekten* explicitly indicate that speakers display enough confidence for the truthfulness of their statements. The condition of "appropriate type of evidence" is met by invoking the witness of God in the case of *valla*. *Gerçekten* functions as a means for the speakers to inform the hearer of the extent to which they adhere to the cooperative principle and maxims in their linguistic communication.

7.2.1 *Valla* and *gerçekten* as Socio-Cultural Index

Abd El-Jawad (2000:227) states that conversational swearing "reflects the powerful dominance of religion on the speech behavior of the community. [...] Swearing expressions may also provide the hearer with a certain amount of indexical information about the swearer". Similarly, the use of *valla* and *gerçekten* highlights speaker's as well as society's perspective in relation to locus of control. *Valla* reflects a rather religious perspective denoting an external locus of control, which is God in the regulation of relationship and designation of the speaker's self image, whereas *gerçekten* reflects internal locus of control, namely the individual's beliefs that her choice to emphasize her sincerity is guided by her personal decisions and efforts. In this respect, apart from signaling a speaker's full commitment to what she says, *valla* functions as a "contextual cue" giving peripheral, more loosely associated and less clearly formulatable information on the speakers' religious view.

It is interesting to add here that conversational swearing is not confined to religious view and/or external locus of control. It is, at the same time, an ideological index with a wide range of communicative functions.

Turkey officially has been a secular state since 1924. Atatürk viewed attachment to religion as an impediment to modernization and imposed rigorous restrictions on the practice of Islam. However, secularism remained an elite ideology, whereas Islam, the nominal religion of 98 percent of the population, continued to be a strong influence on most of the people, especially in rural areas and lower-class urban neighborhoods. It is possible to see this ideological clash in daily discourse through the choice of vocabulary and expressions. While those holding Islamist views tend to use Arabic words and Arabic expressions such as *Selâmyın aleyküm*, *İnşallah*, the secular wing prefers to use Turkish words and avoids any expression indicating religious view. Hence, *valla* usage suggests that conservatism and religiosity may condition a preference for *valla* over *gerçekten*.

7.3 Qualitative Analysis

Data analysis consisted of an iterative, inductive qualitative process. The goal of this procedure was to specify functions of *valla* and *gerçekten* and to identify the patterns of impression management and facework strategies acquired in use of these two items. In order to construct the most accurate frame, *valla* and *gerçekten* cases in data were reviewed a large number of times by the author and obscure cases were submitted into the consideration of Turkish linguists by a short survey. The data analysis process involved two stages:

First, all cases were examined and their functions were determined. Two alternatives of *gerçekten* were included to the analysis: *hakikaten*, a word with an Arabic origin, rather an old alternative of *gerçekten* more commonly used prior to Atatürk's language reform, and *essahtan* which is the regional dialect version of *gerçekten*. No instances were found of *sahiden*, another Arabic word, used interchangeably with *gerçekten*. The data reveal six different use of *valla* depicting the spectrum of resources available to explain not only overcoming potential suspicion, but also managing facial norms, legitimizing one's sincerity against an attack, managing responsive behavior, conducting responsiveness in conversation, and acquiring conversational organization. *Gerçekten* covers some of these functions such as assertion of sincerity, defense against a face threat, response particle and solidarity device.

7.3.1 Syntactic Categorization

Valla and *gerçekten* may occur in five syntactic positions in an ongoing utterance, namely; sentence initial, sentence final, sentence internal, parenthetical position and in the form of independent uses. These usages will be illustrated by the examples from the corpus as follows:

Sentence Initial Position (with or without prosodic break)

Sentence initial *valla* and *gerçekten* take place in the form of left-hand discourse brackets, should be located to the left of the sentence specifier. There may exist a distinct intonational break between them and the rest of the sentence so that the following examples become possible. (D=Dilek, N=Nesrin)

- (1) D: *Valla, ne kadar eşit desen de gene de erkek erkektir.*
D: Valla, although you said men and women are equal, a man is a man.
- (2) D: *Sen yap bak [çocuk —N.K.Y.], burası çok iyi. Yaparsan memnun da kalırsın.*
N: *Gerçekten, Türkiye gibi çekmezsın.*

D: Look, make a baby, it is really nice here. You will be happy if you have one.
N: Really, you won't suffer as you were in Turkey.

Sentence Final Position (with or without prosodic break)

Sentence final position denotes right-hand discourse brackets and situates at the very end of the core sentence, which might also be called the “adjunct position” (Watts, 1988:23). Some examples are given below: (İ=İmdat, S=Saniye)

- (3) İ: *Bi tane baktırdım da olmuyo de. Beyini gandır, vallaha! Şimdi küçüğükten tatlı da büyüyünce acı zehir onlar.*
İ: Just say “I was once examined, so accordingly I can’t have a baby”. Deceive your husband, vallaha! When they are little they are sweet, as they grow up, they turn into an acrid poison.
- (4) S: *Ondan sonra, ehm oldu o gece. Yalnız canım, çok felaket canım yandı gerçekten.*
S: Then, uhm it happened that night. But it hurt, it hurt incredibly, really.

Sentence Internal Position

Valla and *gerçekten* may occur among the sentence constituents as a modifier, generally in the verb phrase complex. (L=Lerzan, İ=İmdat,)

- (5) L: *Padişah gibi valla karşılandım.*
L: I was welcomed valla like a sultan.
- (6) İ: *Spiraylim gerçekten düşmüş. Nasıl düştüğünü biz de anlamadık dediler.*
İ: My spiral had really fallen down. We couldn’t understand how it had fallen down either they said.

However, when *gerçekten* originates within adjectival phrases, it functions as an intensifier and it is effective as an adjectival phrase modifier rather than sentence modifier with respect to sincerity. (L=Lerzan)

- (7) L: *Benim annem çok güzel bi kadındı, gerçekten çok güzel.*
L: My mother was a very beautiful woman, a really very beautiful one.

It seems reasonable to suggest that *gerçekten* is generated within AdjP in (7) where the scope of modification for *gerçekten* must be only in “really beautiful” as an intensifier. Intensifiers are often considered as words marking on speakers’ assessments of truth conditions or an indication of sincerity of their words, which is referred to “modal use” by Partington (1993:183). Ito and Tagliamonte (2003) underline that this original sense may weaken over time and the word can also be employed to convey emphasis. They highlight the problem for “very” and “really” in their study on English intensifiers mentioning that as intensifiers are used with predicative adjectives to convey simple intensification in sub-modifying position, the original lexical meaning of truth has disappeared. Thus, such uses of *gerçekten* in the data are excluded from the analysis.

Parenthetical Expression

Valla and *gerçekten* may occur in sentence internal positions, but as a separated form from the syntactic constituents in the left and right hand side of the sentence by clear-cut breaks. Consider the following examples (L=Lerzan, S=Suzan).

- (8) L: *Benim kaynanam, valla, hasta oldum da ne dedi biliyo musun?*
 L: My mother in-law, valla, when I got sick, do you know what she said?
- (9) S: *Çünkü, gerçekten, ben bi arkadaş gibiyimdir.*
 S: Because, really, I am like a friend.

Independent Uses

In addition to these both *valla* and *gerçekten* can also occur as independent uses with different intonations signifying doubt, insistence of truth, solidarity with the previously said utterance etc. Consider the following extracts from the data. (S=Suzan, İ=İmdat, G=Güler)

- (10) S: *Son, doğum yapacan, P doğurmuş dedi. Olur mu canım dedim, daha dün temizlikteydi. Ya, temizlikten almış da götürmüşler dedi.*
 <Gülüşmeler>
 S: *Vallaha!*
 S: In the last one, you were about to give birth, P had given birth he [speaker's husband—N.K.Y.] said. How could it be? It was only yesterday when she went for cleaning I said. She had been taken from her work place he said.
 <Laughter>
 S: *Vallaha!*
- (11) İ: *Kırşehir'de yüzde seksen hanımlar sezeryanlı.*
 G: *Aksaray'da da aynısı.*
 İ: *Gerçekten?*
 İ: Eighty percent of the women in Kırşehir had the cesarean operation.
 G: It is the same in Aksaray.
 İ: Really?

7.3.2 Semantic and Pragmatic Characterization

Semantically, *valla* is an oath with a religious content. Despite its godly and holy theme, *valla* is very commonly used in daily conversations in Turkish in order to help speakers to make less severe or painful the commitment. The appropriate form of this oath is *vallahi*, however, in colloquial Turkish it may take the form of *valla*, *vallayı*, *vallaha* and *vallah*. As *valla* is invoked very frequently in casual

situations, it functions as an indicator of the speakers' sincerity rather than being a rigid oath carrying potential sanctions. In other words, the primary role of *valla* is not binding for the oath taker, but it is an emphasis of the speaker's sincerity.

Like *valla*, *gerçekten* is one of the basic techniques of earnestness denoting genuineness, honesty or even truth in the utterances of a speaker in Turkish. In Fraser's (1990) term, it is a sort of "commentary pragmatic marker". *Gerçekten* derived from the noun *gerçek* (real).

The function of *valla* in daily conversation does not solely concentrate on the assertion of sincerity or self-validation. Analysis on the different instances of *valla* yielded the following six different use of *valla*. *Gerçekten* reflects some of the functions featured by *valla* ranging from assertion sincerity, defense against a face threat, response particle to solidarity device.

7.3.2.1 Assertion of Sincerity

This category covers cases where *valla* or *gerçekten* are used to prevent any likelihood of doubt from the listener and to increase the credibility of what the speaker says.¹

Context: Preference for male or female doctor. (P=Perinaz, Int=Interviewer)

- (12) Int: *Böyle bayan doktor erkek doktor diye bi ayrımınız var mı? Doğum sırasında falan?*

[...]

P: *Benim büyük kızı (doğururken), gözümü açtım, baktım ki dokuz dane erkek varmış!*

<Gülüşmeler>

P: **Vallahi** aklıma gelmedi gari ha!

Int: Do you have a preference for a male or female doctor during child delivery etc.?

[...]

P: While I was giving birth to my elder daughter, I opened my eyes and realized that there were nine male doctors around me.

<Laughter>

P: **Vallahi**, I never thought of it!

Speaker P tries to prove the truthfulness and/or sincerity of her words, though there is no sign of attack or inspection for the truthfulness of the propositional content of her utterance. *Valla* helps her to assert her sincerity as she formulates her feelings and emotional state during her child delivery. Similarly, in example (13), the speaker tries to convince the other what she says is truthful and sincere.

¹ In translating the examples, I have given preference to idiomatic over literal rendering, but opted to leave *valla* and *gerçekten* untranslated (contextually adequate idiomatic translations might suggest translational equivalence where only partial overlap is given).

Context: Flirt. (H=Hilal, M=Melda)

- (13) H: *Türk kızları için de o esneklik olması lazım yani hani eh...*
 M: *Ama kabullenemiyon H. Olmuyo, kız için **gerçekten** olmuyo.*
- H: There should be the same flexibility for the Turkish girls I mean uhm...
 M: But you can't accept it. It can't be, it **gerçekten** can't be for a girl.

7.3.2.2 Defense against a Face-threat

This function occurs in case of a direct threat, tease, or indirect attack, or any reaction of other participant through which the speaker thinks that she is not taken seriously enough. In example (14), the interviewer's challenge "are you serious?" causes two different speakers to assert the truthfulness of the story using *vallahi* and *gerçekten* respectively.

Context: Superstitions in pregnancy. (K=Kader, H=Hale, Int=Interviewer).

- (14) K: *Vietnamlı'dan bi çocuk getirdiler, evlatlık aldılardı. O çocuk böyle boynunu bükerdi, Hollanda'lılar almıştı. Onu böyle var ya çok severdim. Bunun annesi yok, babası yok filan, ağlardım bile. Hep onu oynatırdım, ben de çocuğudum, 16 yasımda. Her gün onu oynatırdım. S. var ya aynı ona benziyo.*
 Int: *Ciddi mi?*
 K: ***Vallahi.***
 H: *Siyah, esmer falan. **Gerçekten!***
- K: They brought a child from Vietnamese people. They adopted the child. The child used to be very sorrowful. Dutch people had brought him. I loved him a lot. I used to cry saying that this child didn't have his/her parents. I used to play with him/her. I was a child too. I used to play with him/her everyday. You know S. (her eldest daughter) she takes after that child.
- Int: Are you serious?
 K: ***Vallahi.***
 H: She is black, brunette etc. ***Gerçekten!***

7.3.2.3 Mitigation of a Face-threatening Act [e.g., a disagreement, contrast, dispreferred and/or unexpected reaction/answer]

In case of disagreement or refusal, *valla* can signal and mitigate a confrontation such as a diverging or disagreeing assessment or a refusal of a request or an offer. There can also be a contrast of opinions during the course of conversation where the participants prefer to state their conflicting ideas with *valla* in order to manage the face wants of both themselves and the other participants. I

couldn't find any examples of *gerçekten* as a mitigator of a face-threatening act in the data. This might be due to the morphological structure of *gerçekten*. Being a rather long word with three syllables, it may found too 'heavy' for this delicate task.

Context: Sexual life. (L=Lerzan, S=Suzan, B=Belma).

- (15) L: *Yani, ehmm istersen fikren anlaş, istersen dünyanın en akıllı kadını ol, en güzel yemeği yap, ne biliyim ben en iyi numaraları yap, ama yatakta çok iyi olmak zorundasın kocanla*
 S: *Hiç*
 L: *O, o bitti mi, o olmadı mı, ben onu gördüm yani*
 S: *Benim yıllardır bit*
 B: *Gözünden düşersin*
 L: *Hayatını, he, hayatının bütün muhabbeti şusu busu bitiyi eşinle.*
 S: ***Valla** hiç de öyle bi şey değil. Ben bu konuda çok...ehmm ya anlayışlı ondan...*
- L: I mean uhm, even though you get along well, just be the most intelligent woman in the world, cook the best meals, how can I say? do your best to attract him, you have to be very good in bed with your husband
 S: Never
 L: If it, it is over, if there isn't any...I mean, I experienced it like that
 S: Mine has been over for ye
 B: You would lose his credit
 L: In your life, all your affection etc with your husband in your life would be over.
 S: ***Valla***, it isn't the case at all. In this respect, he is very...uhm probably that is why he is very considerate...

Context: Having many children (Int=Interviewer, B=Belma, S=Suzan)

- (16) Int: *Peki, ehmm şey sorucam artık yaşıınız geçti ama diyelim ki paranız olsaydı, yeterli imkanınız olsaydı, çok çocuk sahibi olmayı düşünür müydünüz? 5-6 tane?*
 B: *Hiç düşünmezdim.*
 S: ***Valla** ben olurdum (çocuk sahibi N.K.Y.). Çünkü ben, yani oğlum bi tane şimdi. Baya zorluk çekiyo yani.*
- Int: All right, uhm I will ask another one; you are old now, but let's say you had had enough money and opportunity to have a good life, would you ever have thought of having many children? I mean 5 or 6?
 B: I would have never thought of it.
 S: ***Valla***, I would have had (children N.K.Y.) because I, I mean, I have only one son. He has great difficulties.

Example (16) presents a contrast situation in the conversation where B is in favor of having many children and speaker S is opposed to this idea. *Valla* in S's sentence functions as a cushion word that softens the confrontation.

7.3.2.4 Response Particle

Fishman's (1983) classic article provides evidence that women display more active conversational support to the listener and they tend to signal more minimal responses to sign that they are listening to what is said. Similarly, *valla?* and *gerçekten?* with question intonation can be used by listeners to search for the validity of speakers' utterances in case of a doubt or astonishment, or as a backchannel response through which the listener cooperates in the interaction by sending the message "I am listening to you" and/or "I am interested in what you are talking about". In my data, uses of *gerçekten* as a response particle are very rare compared to the more frequent uses of *valla* in this function.

Context: First experience of menstruation (Ş=Şengül, T=Tennur).

- (17) Ş: *Ben de çok küçüktüm olduğumda. 11 yaşımıydım. Benim bi büyüğümün olmadı. Daha o bekliyodu, benim oldu.*
 T: *Ciddi misin? Valla?*
- Ş: I was very young too when I had my menstruation. I was eleven. My elder sister hadn't had it yet. She was expecting to get it, but I had my period first.
- T1: Are you serious? **Valla?**

In example (17), T finds what Ş says incredible and tries to ascertain the truthfulness of the story. With this purpose, T begs for confirmation and tests if G2 would swear by the truth or not.

7.3.2.5 Solidarity Device

In this category, *valla* and *gerçekten* denote the listener's agreement with or ratification of what the speaker is saying and thus signal mutual understanding and solidarity.

Context: Having a son and or a daughter (Int=Interviewer, F=Fadime).

- (18) F: *Yoh, hiç demezlerdi. Bizimki sıraylan olurdu. Bi oğlan bi kız, bi oğlan bi kız olurdu.*
 Int: *Ay, napsın, söyliyemediler yani diyosun.*
 F: *Valla! Hım, ne söyliyecek ki?*
- F: No, they [my mother-in-law and father-in-law—N.K.Y.] never said so. Our children were born in an order: one boy one girl, one boy and one girl.
- Int: So, you say they had no reason to complain!

F: Valla! Yeah! What could they complain about?

Example (19) illustrates this function for *gerçekten*:

Context: Child delivery (T=Tennur, Int=Interviewer).

- (19) T: *Bebek de bi çıktı ki böyle. O da Türkiye'nin bebeği gibi değil. Buriya bi çıktı böyle (göğsünü göstererek) yatıyo, fıldır fıldır, her tarafa bahıyo.*
 Int: *E çocuk Hollanda' da doğmus.*
 T: *He, gerçekten. Ama bebeği orda napyolar biliyon mu? Su sıkıyolar, bi götiine tohat atıyolar, ondan sonra bırakıyolar.*
- T: The child got out, but he wasn't like a Turkish baby. He just came here (showing her chest), he was lying here and his eyes were moving incessantly.
 Int: Well, this child was born in the Netherlands!
 T: Yeah, gerçekten. But do you know what do they do to the babies there (in Turkey)? They wash the baby, slap his bottom, then it is over.

In the examples above, F's *valla* and T's *gerçekten* display agreement with what the interviewer has said.

7.3.2.6 Delay Device

Valla can also be employed as a temporizing or delaying tactic, gaining the speaker time to formulate proper answers; *gerçekten* is not used as a delay device in the TWIST.

Context: Having many children (H=Hilal).

- (20) Int: *Sen E? İster miydin çok çocuğun olsun?*
 H: ***Valla** ehm yani isterdim. Seviyom, kalabalık aileyi çoh seviyom dışardan hoşuma gidiyo ama, içinde olunca yani öyle olacağını tahmin etmiyom.*
- Int: You, E? Would you like to have many children?
 H: ***Valla**, uhm, I mean I would like to. I like, I like large families very much as an outsider, but if I had a large family, I wouldn't think so, I guess.*

Speaker E apparently is not ready to answer straight away. Her use of *valla* at the beginning of her answer is arguably a signal both of her eagerness and her frankness in giving an answer to the interviewer's question. *Valla* signals that H wants to hold her turn, she has some sincere opinions to share, but she needs some time to formulate her words.

7.4 Distributional Analysis

The Groningen group produced 70 tokens of *valla* and 56 of *gerçekten* in a total of 56733 words. The speakers in the Ankara group used *valla* 104 times and *gerçekten* 14 times in a total of 37373 words. The total frequencies of the markers were 2.2 per 1000 words in Groningen, 3.15 in Ankara.

There is considerable variation in how individuals present themselves through *valla* and *gerçekten*. Only 38 of the 53 speakers used *valla* and *gerçekten*; the maximum number of tokens is 19 for *valla* and 16 for *gerçekten*. There were four instances where *valla* and *gerçekten* were used twice in the same utterances; two cases included both *valla* and *gerçekten*.

7.4.1 Distribution of the Functions

The detailed distribution of all functions of *valla* and *gerçekten* is presented in Figure 1. All functions concern the affective use of language to convey feelings and regulate and maneuver social relationships. While the functions of “assertion of sincerity” and “defense against a threat” are active, but not aggressive efforts to build a positive “self-image”, employment of *valla* and *gerçekten* as mitigators and solidarity devices appears to be a positive politeness action concerning face wants of other people. Using *valla* and *gerçekten* as delay devices relates to the organizational aspect of communication. They function as regulators of adjacency pairs rather than investments in facework.

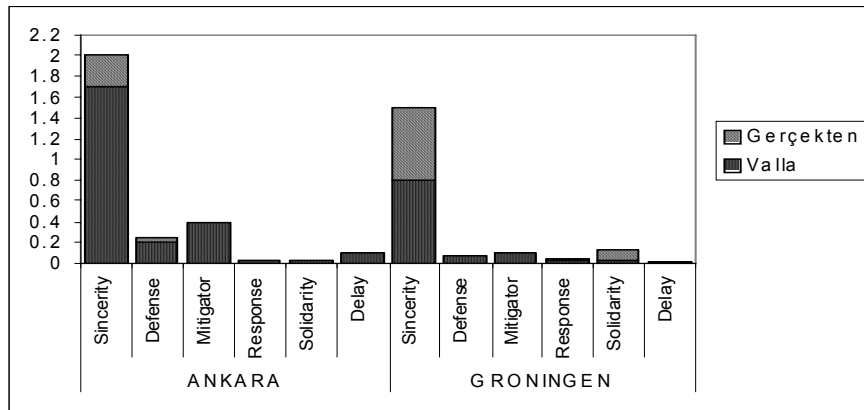


Figure 1. Functions of *valla* and *gerçekten* in the Ankara and Groningen groups (frequencies per 1000 words)

Both groups used *valla* and *gerçekten* primarily for the assertion of sincerity. In the Ankara group, *valla* served mainly for the assertion of sincerity and less often for the purpose of mitigation, defense, delay, response and solidarity. *Gerçekten* was even more exclusively used for the assertion of sincerity, having only one other

function (defense). Similar to the Ankara group, the speakers in the Groningen group used *valla* primarily for the assertion of sincerity. *Valla* was also utilized for mitigation, defense and delay. In contrast to this diverse usage of *valla*, the almost equally frequent marker *gerçekten* was used mainly for the assertion of sincerity.

The difference between the Ankara and Groningen groups can be shown more clearly by focusing only on the face-related uses of *valla* and *gerçekten*. Figure 2 shows that the overall use of the two markers for speaker and hearer-oriented facework displays the same distribution in both groups. The Ankara group, however, used only *valla* for hearer-related facework and mostly *valla* to establish a positive self-image, while the Groningen group used *gerçekten* about as often as *valla* for both functions.

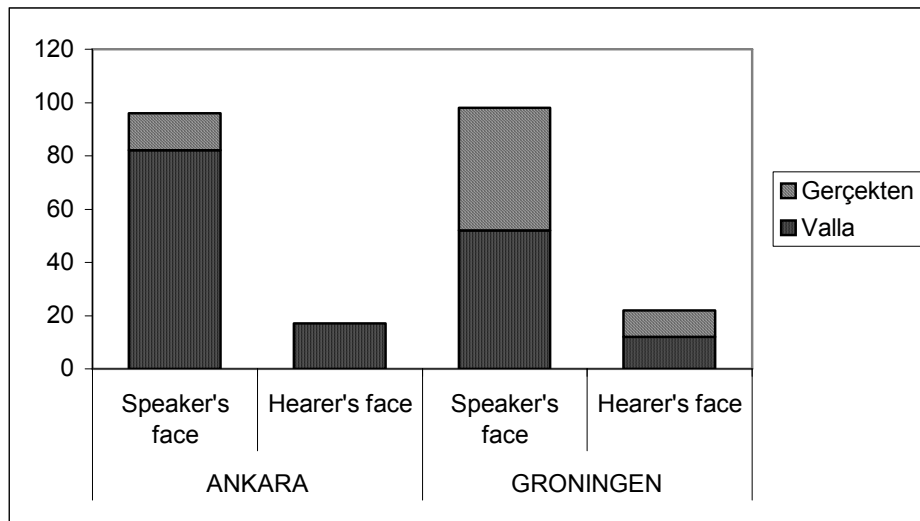


Figure 2. Distribution of *valla* and *gerçekten* usage with respect to face concerns

7.4.2 Use in Sensitive and Innocuous Topics

Valla and *gerçekten* occurred more often in sensitive topics than within innocuous topics in both groups (see Figure 3). There is a tendency to display topic sensitivity in *valla* and *gerçekten* usage, but it is not statistically significant. In order to show that consistency of the pattern is still present in the data, I looked at the corpus and I realized that *valla* and *gerçekten* provide some interpersonal differences. This is especially the case when I take into account the fact that some speakers dominate the whole session whereas others use neither of the markers.

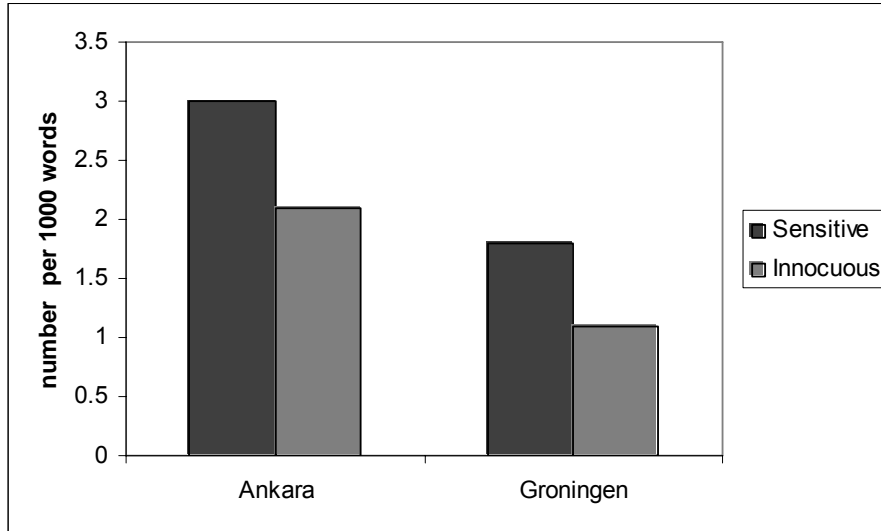


Figure 3. Distribution of *valla* per 1000 words

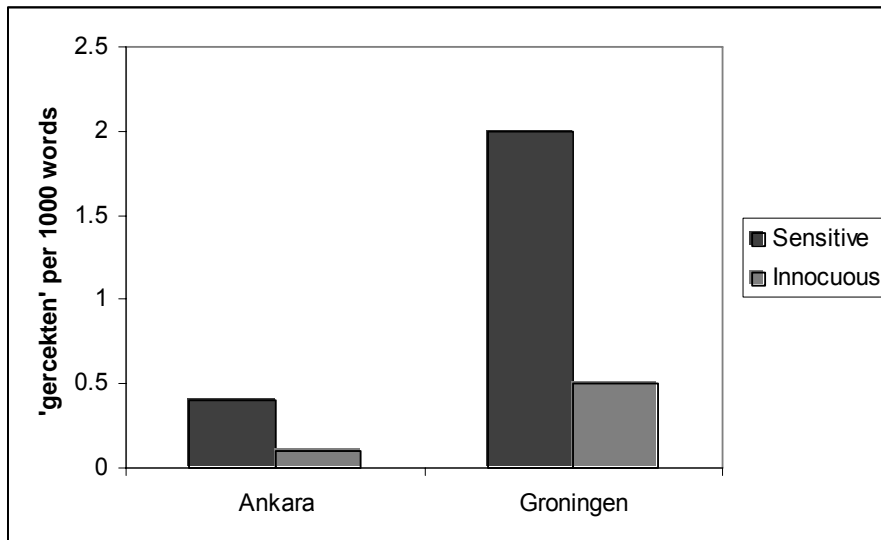


Figure 4. Distribution of *gercekten* per 1000 words

As it is illustrated in Fig.4, *valla* occurs on average 2.5 cases per 1000 words and *gercekten* is used on average 0.4 cases per 1000 words in the Ankara group. In other words, the Ankara group used five times as many *valla* cases than the Groningen group.

7.5 Conclusions

This chapter has illustrated how language provides a source for the display of positive self and identity. Sincerity markers can be considered as a move both in communicative and self-presentation strategy. The functional analysis of *valla* and *gerçekten* has shown that speakers mainly resort to sincerity markers to assert their points and sometimes to impose these points on the interlocutors, namely for the assertion of sincerity (at least in TWIST). However, they also serve a variety of other expressive, relational, and interactional functions. While the functions of “assertion of sincerity” and “defense against a threat” can be seen as efforts to build a positive self-image, uses of *valla* and *gerçekten* as mitigators or solidarity devices should be seen as positive politeness concerning other’s face wants. Using *valla* and *gerçekten* as delay devices relates to the organizational aspect of communication. They function as regulators of turn taking rather than investment in facework.

The distributional analysis showed a striking difference between the Ankara and Groningen groups in the choice between the sincerity markers *valla* and *gerçekten*. I take the use of *valla* and *gerçekten* as another proof for the consideration of normative values, social rules and assumed gendered face concerns. The use of both *valla* and *gerçekten* with almost equal frequency in the Groningen group may imply that respondents in this group are more interested in individualistic concerns and with maximizing benefits to the self and their face in more liberal Dutch cultural context. Furthermore, *valla* and *gerçekten* function as a socio-cultural and ideological index providing some evidence of the speakers’ reflection of self-image in relation to locus of control and world view.

In conclusion, this chapter has demonstrated that *valla* and *gerçekten* occur within the domain of subjective claims of truthfulness and sincerity, where the needs and feelings in the subjective world of an individual prompt him/her to make statements satisfying his/her face wants. All these attempts are subjective claims that associate with an individual’s need to establish a desired self-presentation.

8 Epilogue

8.1 Introduction

The previous seven chapters have discussed the linguistic and socio-psychological consequences of the relation between communication of information about the self on delicate topics, and gendered social construction. Details have been given as to how a speaker-oriented approach may be of particular interest in both politeness and self-presentation theories supported by social constructionism. This final chapter begins by returning to the main concerns of the research introduced in Chapter 1. Then a summary of the findings of the study together with a general comparison between the Groningen and the Ankara group with respect to interactional style and attitudes towards cultural norms is presented. The chapter concludes with a short discussion of the limitations of the study and implications for future research.

Two things were aimed at in this dissertation: first, to sharpen our understanding on the triple matrix of politeness/facework, self-presentation and gender, and to trace its practices in linguistic choices. With this purpose, I explore the linguistic and socio-psychological consequences of the relation between communication of information about the self on delicate topics, and gendered social construction. Second, I have proposed and shown the usefulness of analyzing face management strategies within the framework of politeness and self-presentation theories in a taxonomy. A better understanding of speaker-oriented facework strategies and the motivation behind them helped us to identify (and hopefully to fill up) gaps in the field of politeness theory and to use these findings to raise new questions. The issue of speaker-oriented facework has clearly not been analyzed sufficiently and systematically in the politeness literature, even if many studies used some notion of self-politeness in their analysis in one way or another. This dissertation has provided a more systematic treatment of speaker-oriented facework strategies with special reference to socio-cultural norms and self-presentation styles. Hence, narrative/conversation situations through which Turkish women expressed themselves were analyzed in terms of strategic self-presentation in the form of conversational humor, evasive communication style, vague and indirect interactional manner, and assertive attempts for the concerns of sincerity.

8.2 Summary of Findings

The contribution of this thesis is threefold. First, it has presented a new interpretation to the existing politeness literature by extending BL's politeness theory to a speaker-oriented self-presentation approach within the framework of a taxonomy of self-presentation styles by underlining that conflict avoidance is not the only factor behind politeness behavior.

Second, the overall frame emphasized speakers' efforts to maintain, protect or enhance self-face and that facework is a mutually beneficial venture of speakers and hearers. This frame also gave me the chance to define and discuss the notion of "face" in Turkish culture where asymmetrical power between males and females and the definition of honor in relation to women's body and behavior in Turkish society give only symbolic roles to women as carriers and bearers of the cultural values. "Multiple consciousnesses" of Turkish women about face management were also reflected in their facework strategies because they tried to manage the risk of shame not only for their own account, but also for the wider range of their social relationships. In other words, "discernment" has taken precedence over "volition", and "discernment" has become culturally, but not linguistically operative in the determination of "proper interaction" in Turkish society.

Third, three of the four core chapters (Chapter 5, 6, and 7) compared different types of self-presentation and their linguistic implementations in talk on sensitive and innocuous topics and two groups of women. The qualitative and quantitative analyses presented in these analytical chapters revealed that the cultural construct of "womanhood" affects the organization and content of discourse and that the reflection of self and choices in interactional style are the results of the intersubjective influences of cultural meanings, normative practices and personal interpretations.

Chapter 4, as an opening chapter of my analyses, presented the traces of four types of self-presentation defined in taxonomy of conversational humor designed in with reference to Schütz's original taxonomy and provided a global view on the implementation of the taxonomy regardless of group and topic differences. Chapters 5 and 6 investigated defensive and protective self-presentations by linking them with systematic linguistic choices and facework strategies. Chapter 7 focused on assertive self-presentation illustrated through speakers' attempts to convey sincerity. Hence, different linguistic self-presentations were discussed in a multidisciplinary framework. Next, the basic findings of each chapter will be summarized.

The first chapter underlined the intersection points of the triple matrix of politeness/facework, self-presentation and social construction of gender roles. The notion of gender was discussed from a socialization perspective where gender was viewed at the level of individual choices, but as serving for social control. The necessity of self-presentation management and its indispensable place in social life were also underlined. By extending theorization of gender and impression management to the analysis of linguistic politeness, a more complex model where impression management and speaker-oriented politeness strategies operated with gendered norms was formed.

The study was framed by Goffman's dramaturgical approach. The understanding of the macro-societal level in the back stage drew on theories of social construction and symbolic interaction, in particular the work of Goffman and Bourdieu. Cultural construction of self, women's sexuality and reflections of sexism on Turkish language were specifically discussed with the framework of backstage constituents, in order to link sexual discourse with social construction.

Chapter 2 provided an elaborate review and analysis of the impression management and linguistic politeness, showing how the limitations of each could be offset by the strengths of the other. This chapter also constituted a background for a communicative theory of facework, where the full range of identity concerns people have in interaction and the ways these concerns are expressed in their discourse practices can be taken into consideration. The notion of face in Turkish culture was discussed with respect to constituents of face and factors affecting face management. The main argument on face was that the notion of face in Turkish culture challenges BL's politeness theory in that discernment is more important than the volitional use of politeness (strategic politeness based on face needs). Therefore, self-presentation strategies Turkish women performed were predetermined and represented multiple concerns in relation to group relatedness.

The third chapter presented an outline of the methodology of the study. First, the details of the research design were given. Second, participants in the two groups and the details about the sessions were introduced by giving the details of demographic information. Finally, the corpus and the general methodology of the data analyses were described.

The fourth chapter provided a global framework for analyzing speaker-oriented spontaneous humor by questioning the reasons of this use in the light of assertive, offensive, defensive and protective types of self-presentation styles. While BL (1987) treated humor as a relatively simple matter of positive politeness, my analysis underlined the complexities of joking behavior. By combining self-presentation theory, which takes into account wider personal concerns, with politeness theory, which provides a linguistic framework, multiple functions of humor were explained in terms of multiple personal goals in a speaker-oriented approach. Accordingly, conversational humor can be employed in combining positive and negative facework strategies of the speaker. Humor in the form of teasing can even have a boomerang effect and turn onto the speaker herself.

The fifth chapter provided an overview of the dynamics of evading answers in terms of overt and covert practices, and protective and defensive self-presentational consequences of these strategies in interpersonal relationships. On the one hand, they underlined women's tendencies to behave in line with the mainstream; on the other hand, they produced, sustained, and reinforced facts and a "proper" way of linguistic interaction in terms of gender and cultural norms. A deeper insight was given into the ways in which self-referencing pronominal shifts *sen*, *biz* and nominal reference *insan* can be used as a form of covert evasive strategies. Functions and distributions of shifted references were studied by comparing the Groningen versus the Ankara groups and sensitive vs. innocuous topics with respect to the extent of shift. Qualitative analyses revealed that topic sensitivity prompts speakers of both groups to employ pronominal shifts for various interactional purposes in the use of *biz* (sg.) and *biz* (pl.). The overall distribution

evidenced more frequent shifts in the Ankara group than in the Groningen group. In contrast to my hypothesis, shifted references accumulated around *biz* (sg.) and *biz* (pl.), but did not diverge further in sensitive topics.

Our qualitative analysis revealed that Turkish women display interactional goals both at self-oriented and other-oriented dimensions. Self-oriented facework, which is the primary concern of this study, was managed either to protect the social image against the possible dangers and risks or to minimize the damage that has been done after the desired image was threatened due to disclosure on sensitive topics. Other-oriented references projected identification with others and solidarity, thus strengthening a shared authority and reemphasizing common ground. One should bear in mind that excessive *biz* usage was deceptive as it implies solidarity and identification with others. However, *biz* provides plurality and invisibility for the speaker as well.

Chapter 6 explores the way through which euphemistic indirectness including reduplications was employed in image construction in line with protective self-presentation. Detailed qualitative and quantitative analyses of euphemistic reduplications where undesirable expressions were shown to be concealed were also provided. My qualitative analyses revealed that culture-specific normative expectations were very effective in determining self-presentation behavior, discourse composition and style of interaction. As a result of the distributional and functional analysis of euphemistic reduplications, the two functions found for reduplications were the euphemistic function and the time/effort saving function respectively. The findings provided evidence for my claim that vague reduplicative structures were mostly used for protecting the speaker's face. They occurred more often in sensitive topics than in innocuous topics in both groups. The corpus was further analyzed to test whether use of reduplications was dominant in speakers' own text signaling personal face concerns or in quoted text. In both the Groningen and in the Ankara groups, euphemistic uses of reduplications were found to occur more frequently in speakers' own talk.

Chapter 7 explored ways in which *valla(hi)*, an originally Arabic religious oath meaning "I swear by God", and *gerçekten* (really), a rather contemporary, non-religious sincerity marker in modern Turkish, are used in the Groningen and in the Ankara group. In particular, functions related to self-presentation and face management in talk on sensitive or taboo topics were investigated. The data revealed that employment of *valla* and *gerçekten* was primarily assertive and strategic and corresponded to not only positive and negative politeness strategies, but also assertive and defensive styles of self-presentation. Sensitive topics forced speakers to monitor their words and to establish a preferred impression depending on cultural customs and predetermined gender role of women in both groups. There were differences in the use of *valla* and *gerçekten* in the two groups. The Ankara group used only *valla* for hearer-related facework and mostly *valla* to establish a positive self-image, while the Groningen group used *gerçekten* about as often as *valla* for both functions.

8.3 Comparison of the Two Groups

The Groningen group and the Ankara group had compatible characteristics in terms of educational background and migration story of the families they come from. However, they represented two different Turkish cultures: one in an immigrant setting under the shadow of a dominant culture and another in the native land. Some differences between the two groups were inevitable, but to what extent these differences would be displayed in linguistic choices and self-presentation styles was the main question of this thesis. As I mentioned in the first chapter, native cultures in immigrant setting are characterized by a frozen set of values and practices. A superficial change could be observable as a result of a liberal atmosphere in the immigrant setting, but traditional values brought from homeland usually stay frozen and immigrants are encouraged to preserve these values due to identity concerns. Thus, in general, women in both groups tend to project a stereotypical picture of women being reluctantly participate in interviews on critical topics and being passive participants giving non-committal replies. The outer “expected” picture presented itself in the form of evasive and indirect interactional style supported by euphemistic structures, depersonalizations, equivocal communication techniques in both groups. Consequently, women shelter under the stereotypes that define them as subordinate, weak and vulnerable, since their reality—whether it is brought from their homeland or not—is the same and it is socially constructed through personal interpretation and the intersubjective influences of language, culture, and nurture.

Topic sensitivity was effective in both groups in terms of triggering evasive communication, indirectness, other avoidance strategies and attainment of a sincere image. The Ankara group displayed a much more careful, cautious and socially-conscious portrait of women. Respondents in the Ankara group were more controlled in language use and avoidance strategies, and they provided a greater amount and diversity of facework strategies. For instance, they provided more pronominal shifts in sensitive topics, more frequently employed avoidance-based strategies such as euphemistic reduplications and self-referencing shifted references. Their employment of the sincerity marker *vallahi* functioned as a cultural index of the community. I take this as (tentative) evidence for the influence of conservatism and religiosity on the women living in Ankara.

The Groningen group represented a more liberal perspective as compared to the Ankara group. In the beginning, they were very doubtful about the aims and consequences of my interviews considering the pervasive spread of information in a small minority community. Being a younger population, they were more open to discussions on critical topics and as they acknowledged later, they were in need of being able to talk about unspeakable aspects of their lives with authority and respect. Their narratives revealed that the social construction of immigrant women’s femininity and sexuality was still guided and nurtured mainly by Turkish culture and partly by religion. However, relative liberalism in their interactional style and discourse, which is a strong evidence of the influence of Dutch culture, cannot be neglected. Experiences illustrated in the participants’ narratives followed a common thread, namely the life-long struggle with the social constructions of

gender roles, femininity and sexuality. Similar to the Ankara group, social anxiety triggered by sensitive topics forced speakers to monitor their words and to establish a “proper” impression depending on the situation. Avoidance-based strategies, evasive or equivocal communication, protective and defensive self-presentation styles emerged as the artifacts of culture-specific normative expectations. In the attainment of assertion sincerity, the Groningen group employed *gerçekten* about as often as *valla* for both speaker-oriented and hearer-oriented facework strategies. The use of *gerçekten*, a more contemporary, non-religious sincerity marker and intensifier used as conventional means of legitimization or self-validation, presumably reflected influences of the more liberal atmosphere in Dutch society.

8.4 Limitations of This Study

The TWIST corpus provided massive amounts of sexual, cultural and social meanings, scripts, different strategies of linguistic self-presentation and face management along with various interrelated sub-themes. I have selected certain aspects of my data and used both qualitative and quantitative methods for my analyses. While qualitative methods were better suited than quantitative ones to explore and study meanings, experiences, and processes in people’s lives, quantitative methods provided the opportunity to evidence the systematic use of linguistic tools employed for face-management and self-presentation strategies.

Discourse analyses are notoriously difficult to validate, as reliabilities are generally rather low. In this study, reliability was assessed for some, but not all of the analyses. For euphemistic reduplications and usage of *valla*, this assessment was pretty exhaustive, but the identification of pragmatic functions for shifted pronominal references was only validated with a relatively small portion of the data. All analyses are quite elaborately described and documented with examples, allowing readers to judge the plausibility of the interpretations and classifications.

A video-recorded study could have been more useful by providing visual data to analyze laughter and silence in discourse more elaborately. However, video-recording was not an option in this study. Even the audio-recordings were quite threatening, as they recorded evidence of the participants’ disclosing private issues of their lives. There is no doubt that the presence of a camera would have aggravated the women’s fear of stigmatization and would have been a great obstacle in my data collection process.

Finally, this study is limited to less-educated, first generation Turkish immigrants living in the Netherlands and less-educated Turkish women living in the slum areas of Ankara. The findings of this study cannot directly be generalized to educated Turkish women or those living in immigrant settings as second generation immigrants.

8.5 Future Research

Future research in the area should introduce more diversity within the group of participants. Diversity could be described in terms of socio-economic backgrounds, sexual orientations, age and educational levels. Only with a larger and

more diverse sample will it be possible to discover how these factors affect the way women present themselves, and create and modify their gender roles. A series of studies considering age as a variable could also assist in understanding how the changing nature of social, political, and economic factors influenced generations of women and their sexualities.

It would be interesting to conduct a similar study to explore linguistic self-presentation and sexual construction of men in Turkish culture. Such a research would be significant as it would present the differences in the way men and women are conceptualized in social norms and cultural values in terms of their sexualities and styles of self-presentation.

Finally, the results of this thesis make a strong case for the interplay of politeness, socio-cultural relationships and interpersonal communication. My findings on gender and facework/self-presentation suggest the need to investigate the forms and meanings of politeness and styles of self-presentation in a considerably expanded variety of social and cultural contexts. By studying the speaker-oriented facework of less-educated women from a non-Western culture in immigrant and non-immigrant settings, my study has contributed a stepping stone on our way towards a better understanding of the relationship between the cultural backstage and the frontstage displays of facework/politeness strategies in interaction.

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Samenvatting

In de collectivistische Turkse cultuur dient de vrouw - als echtgenote en moeder, maar ook in haar overige maatschappelijke optreden - aan een vastomlijnd cultureel bepaald rolpatroon te voldoen om zichzelf en haar familie niet in diskrediet te brengen.

In dit proefschrift is onderzocht hoe deze genderidentiteit tot uitdrukking komt in de zelfpresentatie van Turkse vrouwen. Hiervoor werden met 53 laaggeschoolde Turkse vrouwen groepsinterviews gehouden met relatief neutrale tot zeer gevoelige persoonlijke vragen over hun ervaringen en attitudes ten opzichte van gezondheid(szorg), menstruatie en seksualiteit. Deze thema's zijn bij uitstek geschikt om 'gezichtsbehoudende' ('face preserving') zelfpresentatiestrategieën uit te lokken. Door het taalgebruik bij neutrale en gevoelige onderwerpen te vergelijken, kan onderzocht worden welke taalmiddelen strategisch ingezet worden voor gezichtsbehoud. Om de invloed van socio-culturele normen beter te kunnen inschatten, worden zowel vrouwen in Turkije ('Ankara-groep') als migranten in Nederland ('Groningen-groep') bij het onderzoek betrokken.

Frontstage en Backstage

Het kader voor deze studie is de dramaturgische benadering van Goffman (1959, 1967, 1981), die gebaseerd is op een onderscheid tussen frontstage (de schouwburgzaal) en backstage (de kleedkamers). De backstage is het initiatieplatform voor culturele, sociale en taalkundige kennis, en de frontstage is de daadwerkelijke communicatie waarmee sociale identiteiten worden uitgesteld en beheerd. Tot de backstage behoren de normatief-ideale en de reële zelfconcepten van Turkse vrouwen in de Turkse samenleving en van Turkse vrouwen als immigranten. De analyses van taalgebruiksverschijnselen, die de kern van dit proefschrift vormen, richten zich op de frontstage, en worden met behulp van de concepten in de backstage geïnterpreteerd.

Om de backstage in kaart te brengen, worden de rol van vrouwen in de Turkse samenleving en het begrip 'gezicht' ('face') in de Turkse cultuur besproken, alsmede de factoren die gezichtsbeheer en -behoud beïnvloeden. Geconcludeerd wordt dat het begrip 'gezicht' in de Turkse cultuur sterker op de gemeenschap dan

op het individu gericht is, waardoor Turkse vrouwen vanuit een soort ‘meervoudig bewustzijn’ (‘multiple consciousness’) handelen: zij willen het schaamterisico niet enkel voor zichzelf onder controle houden, maar ook voor de bredere kring van hun sociale relaties. Met andere woorden, fatsoenlijkheid heeft prioriteit boven wilsuiking, en fatsoenlijkheid is cultureel gezien, maar niet taalkundig gezien, bepalend voor de ‘juiste’ communicatie in de Turkse gemeenschap.

Beleefdheidstheorie en Zelfpresentatietheorie

In dit proefschrift worden twee benaderingen van gezichtsbehoudend gedrag gecombineerd: beleefdheidstheorie (Brown & Levinson 1978/1987) en zelfpresentatietheorie (Schütz 1996, 1997, 1998). Beleefdheidstheorie kent een uitgebreide taalkundige operationalisatie, maar richt zich vooral op de manieren waarop sprekers pogen het gezicht van hun gesprekspartners te behouden of te herstellen. De sociaalpsychologische theorie van zelfpresentatie is taalkundig nauwelijks uitgewerkt, maar geeft een op de spreker georiënteerde taxonomie van zelfpresentatiestijlen, waarbij assertieve, offensieve, defensieve en beschermende zelfpresentatie onderscheiden worden.

Humor

Spontane humor in gesprekken staat bekend om zijn rijke relationele functies, maar wordt in de beleefdheidstheorie gereduceerd tot een niet verder gedifferentieerde strategie voor gezichtsbehoud (‘positive facework’). In dit proefschrift wordt een kader ontwikkeld voor het analyseren van spontane humor als een gevarieerd palet van strategieën voor assertieve, offensieve, defensieve en beschermende zelfpresentatie. Door beleefdheidstheorie, waarin wel een duidelijk taalkundig kader aanwezig is, te combineren met zelfpresentatietheorie, gebaseerd op een breder vlak van persoonlijk belang, kunnen de veelvuldige functies van humor verklaard worden in termen van persoonlijke doeleinden van de spreker. Aldus kan de complexe functionaliteit van spontane humor in kaart gebracht worden.

Evasiviteit en Depersonalisatie

Een tweetal analyses is gewijd aan ontwijkend antwoordgedrag, ofwel ‘evasiviteit’, waarmee beschermende of defensieve zelfpresentatie gerealiseerd kan worden. Eerst worden alle vormen van evasiviteit globaal in kaart gebracht. Hiervoor is op basis van literatuur over ontwijkend antwoordgedrag in politieke interviews een analysemodel ontwikkeld waarmee diverse vormen van openlijke weigeringen (‘overt evasion’) en bedekte evasiviteit (‘covert evasion’) in kaart zijn gebracht.

Vervolgens wordt meer specifiek aandacht besteed aan een specifieke ontwijkingsstrategie, namelijk depersonalisatie door middel van referentiële distantisering. Voor deze analyses zijn in de interviews sequenties geselecteerd waarin de vraag van de interviewster met een tweede-persoons voornaamwoord geformuleerd was, waarop een antwoord in de eerste persoon gegeven zou moeten worden. Een ontwijkend antwoord werd als depersonalisatie geclassificeerd, als er in plaats van de eerste persoon enkelvoud, een voornaamwoord in de eerste persoon

meervoud gebruikt werd, een derde-persoons voornaamwoord of een onpersoonlijke referentievorm.

Dit soort van referentiële distantiëring blijkt vaker voor te komen bij gevoelige dan bij neutrale onderwerpen en vaker in de Ankara-groep dan in de Groningen-groep. De kwalitatieve analyse van de antwoorden laat zien dat depersonalisatie zowel voor zelfgeoriënteerde als voor andergeoriënteerde gezichtszorg ingezet wordt. Zelfgeoriënteerde gezichtszorg werd toegepast om het sociale imago te beschermen of te repareren. Andergeoriënteerde referenties projecteerden identificatie met anderen, zoals solidariteit en het bevestigen van saamhorigheid. Overigens signaleert de veelvuldig gebruikte eerste-persoons meervoudsvorm niet altijd solidariteit en identificatie met anderen; de spreker kan ook door op te gaan in een gemeenschappelijkheid minder zichtbaar gemaakt worden.

Indirectheid en Eufemisme

Uitspraken kunnen op tal van manieren afgezwakt of indirect geformuleerd worden en de vrouwen in deze studie maakten daar ook ruimschoots gebruik van. Naast een brede inventarisatie van indirecte en eufemistische formuleringen is een meer gedetailleerde analyse uitgevoerd van een opvallend verschijnsel. Het gaat om een groep uitdrukkingen (bijv. *şöyle şöyle* of *böyle böyle*) die door middel van herhaling signaleren dat een (vaak groter en uitgebreider) deel van de mededeling onuitgesproken blijft. In de Turkse taalkunde worden de semantische en syntactische eigenschappen van deze herhalingsconstructies beschreven, maar niet hun pragmatische functies.

Uit het corpus van interviews blijkt dat twee hoofdfuncties van deze herhalingsconstructies te onderscheiden zijn: de weglating kan een bekend of voorspelbaar gedeelte van de uiting betreffen (moeite- en tijdbesparende functie) of een gedeelte dat de spreker bewust vermijdt omdat het uitspreken ervan onwenselijk of onaanvaardbaar zou zijn (eufemistische functie). In deze tweede functie zijn herhalingsconstructies dus een middel om beschermende zelfpresentatie te realiseren. Inderdaad blijkt de eufemistische functie van herhalingsconstructies vaker voor te komen bij gevoelige dan bij neutrale onderwerpen en bovendien ook vaker in uitspraken die de spreker voor haar eigen rekening neemt dan in citaten of indirecte rede.

Assertiviteit en Oprechtheid

In het corpus zijn opvallend veel oprechtheidsmarkeerders (sincerity markers) aanwezig. Onderzocht zijn de woorden *valla(hi)*, van origine een religieuze eed die wil zeggen “ik zweer bij God”, en *gerçekten* (‘werkelijk’), een hedendaagse, niet religieuze uitdrukking van oprechtheid in het modern Turks, met betrekking tot functies die in verband staan met zelfpresentatie en gezichtsbehoud. De resultaten tonen aan dat het gebruik van *valla* en *gerçekten* primair bijdraagt aan assertieve en defensieve zelfpresentatie.

De oprechtheidsmarkeerders worden vaker gebruikt bij gevoelige dan bij neutrale onderwerpen. Dit suggereert dat de sprekers bij gevoelige onderwerpen meer moeite doen om een bepaalde identiteit te projecteren die correspondeert met culturele gebruiken en de aan vrouwen gestelde rolverwachtingen. Het gebruik van

valla en gerçekten verschilt in de twee groepen. De Ankara-groep gebruikt vaker valla en nauwelijks gerçekten, waarbij voor gezichtszorg gericht op de ander uitsluitend valla gebruikt wordt. De Groningen-groep gebruikt de twee woorden ongeveer even vaak en uitwisselbaar (met dezelfde functies).

Conclusie

In dit onderzoek is gezichtszorg als een frontstage verschijnsel afgezet tegen de backstage van culturele normen en waarden. De relevante backstages zijn enerzijds de Turkse cultuur en anderzijds de (beperkte) invloeden van de Nederlandse cultuur op de migranten in Groningen. Het door Goffman geïntroduceerde concept 'gezicht' (face) is besproken in de context van de Turkse cultuur, waar asymmetrische machtsverhoudingen tussen man en vrouw en de definitie van eerbaarheid ten opzichte van lichaam en gedrag van de vrouw haar enkel een symbolische rol toedelen in de Turkse samenleving.

In dit proefschrift wordt een verbreding ontwikkeld van de beleefdheidstheorie in de traditie van Brown en Levinson met een sociaal-psychologische zelfpresentatietheorie. Hierdoor wordt enerzijds de eenzijdige nadruk op gezichtsbehoudend werk ten behoeve van de gesprekspartner opgeheven door een complementaire nadruk op het gezichtsbehoud van de spreker zelf. Anderzijds impliceert de sociaal-psychologische benadering een sterkere en meer systematische aandacht voor de backstage bij onderzoek naar gezichtszorg.

Door situaties te creëren waarin de zelfpresentatie van Turkse vrouwen in verschillende mate onder druk staat, kon een breed palet van zelf-presentatiestrategieën worden uitgelokt. De functionele interpretaties werden onderbouwd door de gebruiksfrequenties te vergelijken tussen neutrale en gevoelige onderwerpen en tussen een Turkse en een migratiecontext.

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